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10 October 1985

# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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10 October 1985

## CHINA REPORT

### POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CHINA'S BIRTH CONTROL POLICY DEFENDED

Beijing JIHUA SHENGYU BAO in Chinese 2 Aug 85 p 2

[Article by Wu Cangping [6762 3318 5493], professor of Demographic Research Institute, China People's University: "Overall Evaluation Should Be Given to China's Birth Control Policy"]

[Text] In recent years, China has effectively carried out birth control and preliminarily controlled the rate of population growth, winning the acclaim of the whole world. After attending the 20th annual meeting of the International Demographic Society in June, I visited several friendly nations, held conversations with their scholars and further reinforced my impression. However, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution on 10 July and groundlessly attacked China for "enforcing birth control by coercive abortions and sterilizations." We cannot but feel extremely regretful. In fact, even many friendly and knowledgeable figures in America hold diverse views on the matter.

The U.S. House of Representatives resolution was rash. In promoting birth control, China has always focused on contraception, and the proportions of artificial abortions and sterilizations are lower than many countries. To call China's birth control "coercive" is groundless. First of all, China's child-bearing age couples number as many as 400 million, and those at the peak of child bearing total close to 300 million. How much manpower and effort would have been needed to force such a gigantic multitude in the vast land of China to reduce, within a little over 10 years, the average of six children per couple to two?! All fair-minded people have to admit that, without the cooperation of the broad masses of child-bearing couples, it would have been impossible to carry out birth control. Next, all the child-bearing age couples are the main force of labor production. If birth control is practiced by coercion in disregard of their wishes, it would have damaged their productive enthusiasm. Yet facts have proved that the most fruitful years of China's birth control have been the very period of the fastest development of its economy, especially rural economy, the unprecedented rise of the laborers' productive enthusiasm and the most rapid improvement of the living standard. Naturally, these have been mainly the results of correct policies, but it also indicates that the majority, including the broad peasant masses, has realized that, in terms of birth control, the interests of the state, the family and the individual are identical. They feel such an enthusiasm precisely because

they consciously link birth control with the active development of production and the gradual improvement of the living standard. Thirdly, after the socioeconomic changes of more than 3 decades, China has preliminarily acquired some conditions for a transformation of the birth concept. If correct guidance is rendered, the overwhelming majority is capable of voluntary birth control. Thus, to arbitrarily call the actual situation of China's birth control work by means of combining state guidance with the people's free will as coercion in fact shows the U.S. House of Representatives' total ignorance of, or turning a blind eye to, the changes that have already occurred or in the course of occurring out of the free will of China's broad masses, especially the peasants, and their outdated view of China's society. On the other hand, it is also a half-baked knowledge of China's long-standing and persistent population and propaganda work intensively and meticulously launched on its great land. The achievements of China's birth control have been made mainly by its arduous and intensive ideological work, spreading the knowledge to each and every household. It is a point which many outsiders have failed to grasp.

It should be pointed out that, in a large country of 1 billion, childbearing couples constitute 300 to 400 million. For birth control to make such obvious achievements within such a short time, it is impossible for it to be entirely free of shortcomings. Defects in work emerging in individual areas at individual times are not at all surprising. China's newspapers and broadcasting stations publish them with a critical attitude. It proves that such conditions are in violation of the requirements of state policies. Nevertheless, gathering the defects and mistakes in birth control work of some areas and magnifying and exaggerating them absolutely do not constitute a scientific attitude in evaluating China's birth control, because, taking the part as the whole, it is inconsistent with the facts and one-sided.

China's promotion of one child per couple started in 1979 from its practical conditions and took into account the fact of its being a developing country with a gigantic population. On the other hand, China foresaw, as a result of the 20 to 29 million annual births from the sixties to the early seventies, the enormous group of people reaching marriage age beginning in the eighties which will continue for more than a decade till the end of the century. To improve the people's living standard and in consideration of the basic interest of future generations, the people of China all hoped that there would be no recurrence of such birth peaks and no further cyclic expansion of population reproduction in this century and the next; therefore, the policy was proposed. The data by age in the 1982 census also indicates that the current policy remains a wise choice. If the effort on birth control is relaxed, while the scale of China's population in the future is difficult to predict, it will for sure add to the world total. The pros and cons of the policy were weighed. The advocacy of one child per couple is not a practice of "one birth only" without exception, nor an immutable policy. The goal of the birth control policy is to keep the population reproduction at the present phase lower than the replacement level and to strive for the birth rate of most of today's developed nations. To date, the births per couple still average a little over two. Obviously, in the decade or more to come, China's population development will indeed constitute a decisive force on controlling [the world] population growth.

China's vigorous and effective population growth control since the seventies should win the sympathy and understanding of the international community, yet we encountered the groundless attack launched by the U.S. House of Representatives. It was a wanton interference in China's internal affairs.

Summarizing the population development experiences of over 3 decades, the people of China realize that solving the population issue primarily depends on the socioeconomic development, and they also deeply understand the inertia of population growth. If the current birth control is relaxed, there will easily be another additional 500 million people by early next century.

For the prosperity of the nation, China must start from its reality and, on the basis of mass support, consistently and firmly control its population growth by planning.

6080

CSO: 4005/1354

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CIRCULAR ON FAMILY PLANNING STATISTICS ISSUED

Beijing JIHUA SHENGYU BAN in Chinese 26 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The circular issued by the State Family Planning Commission on 6 July to the provincial, autonomous region and municipal family planning commissions requires that cadres in family planning statistical work at every level should work conscientiously on family planning statistical work, in a spirit of strong responsibility to the party and the people.

The circular transmits the Shanxi provincial People's Government general office's "Circular on Underreporting and Misreporting of Births in Weizi Town, Lucheng County" and the Nei Mongol Autonomous Region Family Planning Office's brief report on "Statistical Work Should Receive a High Degree of Attention," commended the spirit of strong responsibility to the party and the people in the family planning statistical work done by Shanxi Province and the Nei Mongol Autonomous Region and called on all locales to learn from them.

The circular states that in current family planning statistical work, under-reporting and misreporting of statistics is fairly severe in some areas. The main reason is to gain honor by cheating. This is a concrete manifestation of incorrect party workstyle.

The circular points out that statistical work is a science, an important means for understanding society and, for leaders at all levels, it is a subject for inquiry and for formulating specific policies and is an important basis for guiding work, which permits no dishonesty. As a result, it is of major significance to developing a good situation in family planning statistical work that we must praise honesty, deal with facts and report both good and bad news accurately.

The circular requires that family planning departments at all levels carry out systematic education among the broad masses of cadres, particularly basic level cadres, help them correct their thinking and workstyle, strengthen their sense of legality, raise their professional quality and do their utmost to do family planning statistical work accurately, honestly and properly.

12534

CSO: 4005/1308



## STATUS OF OLD-AGE WELFARE REPORTED

Beijing JIHUA SHENGYU BAN in Chinese 19 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] According to relevant statistics from the Ministry of Civil Affairs, there are currently 21,580 welfare homes and old folks' homes in China's cities and countryside, which house more than 281,500 solitary, impoverished old people, there are nearly 3 million people supported in concentrated and scattered rural households enjoying the five guarantees, 1,338 townships and 9,425 villages copy the methods of the cities in carrying out the old-age pension system and there are 662,905 people who receive old-age pensions. With the help and care of government at all levels and the masses in every locale, these old people are happily living out their later years.

Each year the state expends tremendous funds for old-age welfare. In the 709 social welfare homes throughout China, more than 14,600 workers tend to the needs of solitary, impoverished old people. In accord with the national policy of "making support the main factor," in addition to arranging for food, clothing and cultural activities for old people, the welfare homes also vigorously develop recovery treatment activities and organize the old people for taijiquan, the wugin game, "holiday outings" and so on. The grounds of many welfare homes are like gardens.

In the countryside, the support of solitary, impoverished old people is entirely dependent on the masses and the collectives. Since the Third Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, rural old folks' homes have rapidly increased from 7,145 in 1978 to 20,871 in 1984, which now house 241,430 old people. The collectives provide year-round subsidies and regular assistance for the old people's livelihood. Various locales have adopted such methods as centralized supply, decentralized support and part-time care by working relatives for the 3 million in scattered rural households enjoying the five guarantees. There are also 662,905 old people receiving old-age pensions.

Relevant comrades in the Ministry of Civil Affairs say that party and state leaders pay a great deal of attention to work on support for solitary, impoverished old people. In October of 1982, Comrade Hu Yaobang commented on an article entitled "Who Has Seen These Households Enjoying the Five Guarantees": "This experience merits attention, which is to say it should be spread." Comrade Chen Yun also commented on a letter received from the masses in 1983: "Now. . . whom we should care for are the old people."

Party and government leaders at all levels and the masses in every locale also have more concern for solitary, impoverished old people than in the past. When they have difficulties, leading cadres often personally help to solve them; at festival times, cadres, young Pioneers and Communist Youth League organizations at all levels pay them calls to ask after their health. This is a full expression of the Chinese people's fine tradition of respect and care for old people and the superiority of the Chinese socialist system.

12534

CSO: 4005/1309



NATIONAL AFFAIRS

DISCIPLINE COMMISSION OFFICIAL ON PARTY DISCIPLINE

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 29, 22 Jul 85 pp 9-11

[Interview with Han Guang, secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, on 27 June by Hu Guohua [5170 0248 5478] and Guo Yuanfa [6753 6678 4099]: "Rely on Party Discipline To Correct Party Style"]

[Text] In the morning on 27 June, we went to a room on the fifth floor of Jingxi Guest House to interview Comrade Han Guang [7281 1342], secretary of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission. He was in town attending the national "experience exchange seminar on party style work" and specially made time to receive us today. After we were seated, he asked us cordially, "What should we talk about? Why don't you give me a topic?"

Comrade Han Guang was elected to the standing committee of the Central Discipline Inspection Commission in December 1978 and became commission secretary in September 1982. Since then his work has kept him very busy.

At the experience exchange seminar, he emphasized that the whole party must work hard to strengthen education in party spirit and party discipline and correct party style. He proposed that discipline inspection play a role in building spiritual civilization. And it was exactly the desire to get a fuller understanding of this issue that prompted us to come here. So we said, "Tell us how party discipline can be put to work to help set right the party style."

He said smilingly, "But that is a big topic. Let me just discuss my personal opinions briefly."

Then he told us, "Party style refers to the style of the party and the style of party members. It is reflected in every party member's ideology, politics, work, life and so on. Historically our party has had a fine style. The 10 years of turmoil, however, took a heavy toll on it. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, particularly in the past 2 years, the party has been educating its members in party spirit and party discipline. The masses of party members and cadres have become more conscious of the need to be in line with the Central Committee and conducted a determined struggle against all kinds of behavior which violate party discipline. As a result, our party style has changed markedly for the better. Nevertheless, we must

open our eyes to the new unhealthy tendency which have appeared in the new circumstances since the latter part of last year. The unhealthy tendency manifests itself in various forms, eg., going into business by exploiting one's official position, random promotions, divvying up bonuses, wilfully issuing bonuses and merchandise. The tendency has been so powerful that some party members and cadres have succumbed to it. Other leading cadres have come to take it for granted and even become part of the trend."

Comrade Han Guang said with a trace of emotion, "Some people started out with ideals and aspirations, dedicated to a life-long struggle on behalf of the communist cause. But battered by the latest ill wind in recent years, they have changed. While some of the older comrades can still tell evil when they see it, they are nevertheless sucked into it when their children and wives approach them and say, 'Father, in response to the call to 'invigorate the economy,' we want to 'start a company' or a center. Please give us a little support by putting in a word for us to help us get hold of some steel, lumber and foreign exchange. What is wrong with that? Others are in it. Why not you?' Younger comrades lack a firm ideological grounding and have no, or a partial, understanding of the party's traditional fine style. Too weak to resist the onslaught of the unhealthy trend, they simply copy what others are doing and share the spoils. In the process the ill wind blows harder and harder."

He continued, "Some people justify their capitulation to the unhealthy tendency as a move to further the masses' interests and a show of concern for the masses. Such rationalization does not wash. Whatever we do, our first consideration is the party and the nation. Anything that benefits a minority or a small group at the expense of the interests of the party or the nation in effect damages the masses' basic interests and cannot for this reason be described as furthering the masses' interests."

At this point Han Guang's expression became stern and grim, seemingly indicative of his deep concern for this problem. He said, "Party style affects the party's survival and must be rectified. To do so, we must rely on strict party discipline. Party discipline is very critical to a political party. Marx said, 'We must ensure party discipline; otherwise, everything else will be destroyed.' Lenin expressed a similar view in June 1920 when he said, 'Without ironclad discipline, the Bolshevik regime will not last even 2 1/2 months, not to mention 2 1/2 years. Ever since the day it was founded, the party has considered strict discipline an important principle in building a proletarian revolutionary regime. Will it do if an army has no discipline so that when it faces its enemy on the battlefield, a soldier is free to decide for himself whether or not to fight? Our party has 40 million members. In the absence of party discipline, one member may choose to follow the policies of the Central Committee while others may not. The result will be a party in disarray and sapped of its vitality. Its cause will be doomed."

The problems of enforcing party discipline and reversing the unhealthy trend in the party are on everybody's mind. We asked Comrade Han Guang, "Can we say that the enforcement of party discipline is at a critical juncture at this moment?"

Han Guang pondered shortly and then said, "Yes, it is especially necessary to tighten up party discipline and rectify party style today. That is also a wish shared by the whole party and the entire people. When we enforce party discipline by punishing an errant member, it is because we have no other choice. We do not like punishing anyone. For most people it is a question of education. We take education very seriously and believe that through education most comrades will mend their ways. However, we also see that a minority still refuses to come to their senses despite education, in which case there is no alternative but to punish these repeat offenders. We must take disciplinary measures against people who commit serious errors, damage the party's cause and persist in their mistaken ways. We have to compel them to see the light and correct their errors."

"It is exactly because we want to help the culpable comrade that we enforce party discipline." Gesticulating forcefully, Comrade Han Guang said, "If we do not slap him hard, he will not feel the pain, but hit him hard, he hurts and will be receptive to education and correct his mistakes." Han Guang also said, "Of course, we must enforce discipline properly, convince people by reasoning and seek truth from facts. Even as we enforce discipline, we must prevent the indiscriminate application of disciplinary measures."

At this point sunlight streamed in through the window and the room appeared even brighter. Comrade Han Guang said emphatically, "In enforcing party discipline and rectifying party style, discipline inspection agencies and cadres must be fearless; have the courage to take up responsibility, struggle and tackle thorny problems; firmly fulfill their duties and enforce party discipline impartially so that everybody is equal before party discipline. They must not let a case go just because a leading cadre is implicated. Leading cadres in government and party at all levels must also set an example by being strict with their children and families."

We interrupted at this point, "Is lack of consistency a problem in discipline enforcement these days? How about cases where a person pleads for mercy or intercedes for the offender?"

Comrade Han Guang laughed and said, "Of course I cannot say these things do not exist, but we take a severe attitude towards them. Whoever he may be, a person who violates party discipline must be punished. Only thus can the largest number of people be educated. The effort to enforce party discipline must achieve the aim of determent by making an example of somebody in order that more people can draw a lesson from it and be less prone to going astray. The aim of punishment is also education. But education must precede the enforcement of party discipline. We absolutely must not punish people without educating them first."

We again asked, "Specifically, how do you go about educating people in party discipline?"

Han Guang replied, "To enforce party discipline and rectify party style, we must aggressively educate our people in ideals and the world outlook. A Communist Party member must have ideals. That is basic. In the old society, people lived to make a dime or two. This is no longer true today; we live to

advance the entire society, to achieve communism. Such are the aims in life of a communist, and are also our ideals. We should propagate endlessly the aims and ideals of communists like us among our members. A person with lofty ideals will consciously obey discipline and consciously accept the restrictions imposed by party discipline. He will not greedily succumb to the lure of money and join others in illegal activities."

A surviving veteran of the anti-Japanese united army in the northeast, Comrade Han Guang joined the revolution at 17 and was successively involved in political work in the first and third united armies in the War of Resistance against Japan. Though getting on for 70 now, he is physically agile and speaks incisively. As he recalled the past and compared it with the present, he grew quite emotional. He told us pensively, "When we first joined the revolution, leading comrades asked us, 'If the party wants you to climb the Mountain of Knives for the sake of communism, will you do it?' We replied, 'We will.' Committed as we were to realizing the revolutionary ideals, we had cast to the wind any concern for personal safety long time ago. At the time, how could we consider personal interests?"

At this point, Comrade Han Guang stood up agitatedly and paced back and forth in front of us, looking down to speak to us at the same time, "Life was extremely hard then, but we were very close to the civilians; nobody had a harsh word for them. Led by our party and following the example set by the Red Army in Jiangxi, the anti-Japanese united army in the northeast enforced an ironclad discipline, which was conscientiously observed by everybody. When we stayed at a civilian's house, we were just like members of the family. We covered the floor with grass and slept on it and let the people sleep on their heatable brick beds. As for food, we readily shared with the people whatever we happened to have. How did we manage to do that? Because the lofty revolutionary ideals inside us made us observe discipline on our own. Certainly, objective conditions at the time did not allow us to isolate ourselves from the masses. Had we done so, we would not have been able to survive. Today, in order to enforce party discipline and correct party style, we must also vigorously educate party members in ideals, improve their political quality and infuse into them the lofty ideals of serving the people wholeheartedly and dedicating their lives to the struggle for communism. Only thus can the effort to correct our party style be put on a solid footing."

Comrade Han Guang also told us, "To enforce party discipline and correct party style, we must educate party members in party policies as well as ideals. Ideals are indispensable to a party member, but if he does not understand the party's policies and principles or does so only superficially, that will not do either since he may make mistakes out of ignorance, which is no help to enforcing party discipline and correcting party style. Hence the absolute need to educate party members in party principles and policies. Right now we must pay special attention to the party's policies, principles and laws concerning reform and the open door policy in order to improve our ideological level and policy knowledge."

Comrade Han Guang finally said, "No matter how large the job of economic construction may loom ahead, we must make unremitting efforts to strengthen party discipline and rectify party style. As long as we do things in



accordance with the party's correct line, principles and policies, we will certainly be able to improve party style fundamentally. I am very confident about that." He smiled happily as he said this.

Our interview over, Comrade Han Guang shook our hands as we were about to leave and said, "Enforcing party discipline and correcting party style requires a herculean effort on everybody's part. We must publicize it extensively and in depth. I hope publications like LIAOWANG will work harder in this regard. Let's strive together to improve our party style fundamentally."

12581

CSO: 4005/1361

## CIRCULAR ON REGIONAL EDUCATION DEVELOPMENT PLANNING ISSUED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 20 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] In accord with the spirit of the "Central Committee's Resolution on Education Reform," which was ratified by the State Council, the State Education Commission, the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Labor and Personnel together issued a circular on 12 July that requires all provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities to draw up their own 15-year regional educational development plans within 2 years, based on a study of long-term development strategy and the "Seventh 5-year Plan" that will be drawn up, using estimated needs for qualified personnel as a point of departure and taking the end of the year 2000 as a goal.

The "Circular" pointed out that the strategic goals, focal points and measures and the series of policies decided on by the Central Committee for economic and social development through the end of this century and the first 50 years of the next, especially the resolution on education reform, all form an important basis for drawing up a long-term education plan, while carrying out the Central Committee's strategic policies and principles is a general guiding ideology for drawing up a long-term education plan. Each region should consider its own economic conditions and overall-development strategy and decide on the scope, speed and structure of education, strive to realize a unity of quantity and quality, scope and conditions and speed and benefits and seek real results. Higher education should uphold "the national game plan." They should use modern and traditional methods together, do their utmost to use systematic methods and modern techniques, enhance the scientific character of planning and strive to establish step by step a system of estimate planning that can be constantly revised.

The "Circular" stipulates that the plans should have two parts, to include estimates on economic and social development and the need for qualified personnel as well as an education plan. The basic work of the development estimate part includes estimations on the level of economic and social development, industrial structure and composition of professional personnel and a survey of the current situation in qualified personnel, as well as estimates of citizen income and distribution. The education plan part includes an investigation and analysis of the current situation in education, estimates of the structural system and overall arrangements of education, estimates of the parameters of the education plan, setting up a mathematical

model and a simulated test and policy revision of the plan. Based on the work described above, several plans would be put up for selection. The plans would for the most part be involved with the scope, speed and structure of education development, quantitative changes in qualified personnel, investments and allotments for education and policy measures.

The "Circular" states that this work is to be carried out in two phases. The basic work of the first phase is to determine organization leadership, formulate work plans, set up and train the ranks, develop investigations of typical cases and estimation of the plans' parameters and prepare a mathematical model. The second phase is for calculating and drawing up the plan. The results of the regional education plans will begin to be demonstrated in the spring of 1986, province by province (and autonomous regions and municipalities), and on this basis, in the first half of 1987, the national education plan for 1986-2000 will be drafted.

The "Circular" requires the planning, labor and personnel and education departments in every locale to make a concerted effort. It suggests that each locale involve the economic department and education department in planning, provide capable personnel who know the ropes and form a special group. Each province, autonomous region and municipality should appoint a responsible comrade to handle this work and ask important leading comrades to take a personal interest in the matter, so this work can be done properly, in a down-to-earth manner.

12534

CSO: 4005/1309

10 October 1985

ADVANCES IN PRESCHOOL EDUCATION NOTED

Beijing JIHUA SHENGYU BAN in Chinese 9 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Sun Huilian [1327 1920 5571]

[Text] According to Educational Committee statistics, our country now has more than 490,000 preschool teachers and a total of more than 730,000 preschool teachers and other preschool workers. Except for Tibet every province and municipality has established a preschool teacher's normal school or program. At present there are 70,000 students, including 40,000 preschool teachers, in the preschool teachers normal schools. This number is expected to increase to 350,000 by 1990. The rapid development of preschools will play an important role in raising the quality of our country's population and in bringing up the splendid talents of the 21st century.

The age structure of our country is relatively young. Preschool children under age 6 make up 12 percent of our country's 1 billion people. Nearly 13 million of them are in preschools. Thus training a large number of excellent preschool teachers, strengthening early childhood education and making our children become talents quickly are very urgent tasks facing our country.

The leaders of the party are all very concerned about the development of preschool education. In 1983 Premier Zhao Ziyang pointed out, "Preschool education is very important. It must develop according to plan, starting with training well preschool teachers and gradually adjusting and improving it." Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Party Congress our country has one after another restored or built 33 preschool teachers normal schools. These schools train new preschool teachers. They also train unqualified preschool teachers who are already at work so that they can reach the level of graduates of the preschool teachers normal school. Moreover, while following the principle of "do a good job in establishing key schools so that they will be a model to others," our country selected 17 preschool teachers normal schools to cooperate with the UNICEF program of "strengthening preschool teachers normal schools in order to raise the level of preschool teachers" between 1985 and 1989. It is anticipated that the number of children entering preschools during the 7th and 5-year Plan will increase by 5 million and the number of preschool teachers will increase by 350,000 while the number of preschool teachers normal schools will increase by about



100. By 1990 60 percent of the nation's preschool teachers will have reached the level of graduates of the preschool teachers normal school.

In order to complete this task every locality in the entire country must at several different levels establish norms and educational methods and use broadcasts, television, direct mail and both long and short-term courses given by traveling lecturers to improve teachers. In recent years the professional training of preschool teachers has developed rapidly. There are now 400,000 students in school. Jiangsu is a province which developed professional preschool teachers normal schools quickly. Now it has more than 67 professional preschool teachers normal schools and 152 preschool teachers normal programs with 6,500 students, more than 8 times the previous number. Since professional preschool teachers are not included in the manpower allocations it has become a popular specialty. Since graduates of preschool teachers normal schools cannot supply all the preschools this is an important method of training preschool teachers. All sectors of society are very concerned about the development of preschools. Every trade, enterprise and department should energetically contribute to the development of preschool education.

12369

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

PARTY RECTIFICATION IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Beijing GAOJIAO ZHANXIAN [HIGHER EDUCATION FRONT] in Chinese No 7, 13 Jul 85  
pp 8-9

[Article by staff commentator "Set High Standards in Carrying Out Party Rectification Work in Institutions of Higher Learning"]

[Text] At present, party rectification in most of China's institutions of higher education is continuing to develop. The other institutions of higher education will begin party rectification in groups this autumn and next spring. The schools have undertaken the major task of training high-level professionals and developing science, technology and culture, which occupies an important position in building socialist spiritual civilization. Conscientiously doing party rectification properly and further raising the party's fighting power are of great significance in promoting and ensuring education reform and uniting and leading the broad masses to complete the historical task undertaken by the institutions of higher education.

Since the 3d Plenum of the 11th CPC Central Committee, party organizations in the institutions of higher education have undergone preliminary rectification, with great progress made and, in implementing the party's principles and policies, fulfilling the task of training qualified personnel and leading all work in the schools, many achievements have been gained. However, it must be noted that the institutions of higher education were "major disaster areas" of the Cultural Revolution and they received very serious damage. There were negative effects on the party organizations' ideology, workstyle and organization, which have not disappeared completely even today and have been the source of many contradictions in the schools' work. At the same time, due to the position of the institutions of higher education, in the ideological field, they have a rather large number of contacts with trends of thought in China and abroad, long-term "leftist" ideological influences have not been overcome and corrupt capitalist ideology and remnants of feudal ideology have affected and attacked some of our comrades, affecting the fighting power of party organizations. The institutions of higher education in particular are now facing a new situation in reform. Recently, the Central Committee's "Resolution on Education Reform" was promulgated and put into force. It indicates the direction for education reform and, at the same time, provides an ideological weapon for unifying understanding in party rectification on the education front. To ensure the implementation of this

resolution and promote the smooth progress of all areas of reform in the institutions of higher education, the first requirement is proper rectification of party organizations and enhanced party fighting power. In current party rectification work in the institutions of higher education, emphasis should be placed on resolving the following several problems:

1. Earnestly Correct Guiding Ideology on Running Schools and Unify Ideology According to the Central Committee's Resolution on Education Reform

Institutions of higher education that are now undergoing party rectification should organize all party members to earnestly study the Central Committee's resolution on education reform and the important speeches given by leading comrades of the central authorities at the national education work conference. In their study, they should understand profoundly and resolve properly the following three important problems: the first is to understand profoundly the strategic policy of "education should be oriented toward modernization, the world and the future," to further make clear that the basic goal for education reform is to develop China's economy and society from the 1990's through the early part of the next century, to provide qualified personnel of all levels and types and overcome erroneous inclinations to deviate from the basic goal of raising the people's quality and producing more and better qualified personnel. The second is to understand profoundly the fundamental guiding ideology that "education must serve the socialist drive and the socialist drive must rely on education." Taking investigation and analysis of the demands for education and need for qualified personnel in China's economic and social development as a point of departure, conscientiously check on instances of practice divorced from the socialist drive in the guiding ideology for running schools and in teaching and scientific research work. The third is to understand profoundly the fundamental tenet of "in education reform, we must rely closely on the teachers," adopt effective measures, fully mobilize and bring into play the enthusiasm of the broad mass of teachers in reform and in running schools and resolutely correct mistaken thinking and methods that cause distrust for knowledge and teachers.

2. Make Strengthening the Sense of Party Spirit in Party Members and the Raising of Party Members' Ideological and Political Quality a Breakthrough Point For Party Rectification

The Central Committee's resolution on education reform points out that the training of qualified personnel by the institutions of higher education "should be rational, reasonable, civilized, disciplined and ardent toward the socialist fatherland and the cause of socialism, it should be devoted to making the country more prosperous and strong and the people richer through arduous struggle, it should constantly seek out new knowledge and it should have a scientific spirit that seeks truth from facts, thinks independently and has the courage to create." To achieve this, we must first make our institutions of higher education resist the corrosive influence of capitalism and other corrupt ideologies, build a strong position for socialist spiritual civilization and we should require that our party members in education work have stronger party spirit and higher ideological and political quality. Therefore, during party rectification in institutions

of higher education, we should deal more with education to strengthen the party spirit of party members.

There are two areas that are most important to handle properly in this education on party spirit in the institutions of higher education: (1) Education in ideals. The broad masses of party members should be organized to study earnestly Marxist theory on communist movements and the discussions on building a uniquely Chinese socialism by the leading comrades in the central authorities. On the connections between ideology and work practice, clarify the confused understanding of the fundamental tenets and superiority of the socialist system and the bright future of communism that exists among some party members. Overcome instances of consideration only for the individual's immediate interests, not understanding ideals, not caring about politics and not acting as an example as a party member. Strengthen faith in communism, always bear in mind the party's basic goal and set up the ideology of wholeheartedly working hard and struggling all one's life to make socialist education flourish and develop. Education in ideals should be integrated into implementation of the Central Committee's resolution on education reform. Educate party members to base themselves in their own jobs and be promoters of progress in education reform. (2) Education in discipline. Every party member should understand that the success of education reform lies not only in choosing the correct policies, but also requires all party comrades and all teachers and administrators to make concerted actions according to the Central Committee's plan. Strict discipline is necessary to ensure the success of reform. Through education, we should resolutely correct unorganized, undisciplined phenomena such as understanding democracy but not centralism, understanding freedom but not discipline, caring for the part but not the whole, individuals not serving the organization and being lax in discipline, establish a sense of respect for discipline and obeying the law, strengthen the party's organizational life, support democratic centralism and observe strict party discipline.

Strengthening party spirit should be integrated with correcting party workstyle. Through typical positive and negative cases, carry out education to correct party workstyle among party members, staff and workers. Promote arduous struggle in the party and an industrious and thrifty workstyle in running schools and adopt vigorous measures toward and resolutely correct such incorrect workstyles as profiting from one's position, scheming for private gain and getting in by the back door.

Education to strengthen the party spirit of party members should start with the special characteristics of institutions of higher education and put forth different requirements and adopt various forms, according to the different situations of various party members. Strive to make this education lively and in close contact with practice, based on their enlightened consciousness. Vigorous efforts should be made to commend and popularize the progressive thinking and deeds of outstanding party members, to encourage healthy trends. As for inclinations to mistaken thinking, we should have the courage to initiate serious, comradely criticism and education and never tolerate it in an unprincipled way. We should emphasize practical results, not writing superficial documents, and soundly guide the broad masses of

party members through the great practice of party rectification and education reform, work hard to increase the tempering of party spirit and raise much higher the ideological and political quality of party members, especially leading cadres.

### 3. Get Involved in Education on Thoroughly Negating the Cultural Revolution

Taking the erroneous theory of "continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" as a point of departure, we should further eliminate "leftist" influences and outmoded viewpoints that hamper the development of education. We should explain that the two factions in the Cultural Revolution were both wrong, generally speaking, thoroughly eliminate the remnants of factionalism and strengthen unity inside and outside the party. We should further overcome out-and-out egoism, anarchism and liberalism, while at the same time we should conscientiously implement the policy on intellectuals, step up the resolution of questions left over by history and intellectuals' difficulties in joining the party and earnestly resolve the many practical problems that can and should be solved in intellectuals' work and living arrangements.

Party organizations in every institution of higher education should strengthen leadership over examination work, eliminate all types of disturbances and difficulties and resolutely and cautiously continue to work on clearing up "the three types of people," based on the principles and policies stipulated by the central authorities.

### 4. Further Strengthen the Leading Bodies in Institutions of Higher Education

Since the institutions of higher education have shouldered the major burden of training high-level professionals, their leading cadres should have relatively high ideological and political levels and scientific and educational attainments. They should be experts at educational work, models of carrying out the policy on intellectuals and examples to teachers and students. During party rectification, the leading bodies' ideology and workstyle should be earnestly strengthened and the ideology of serving education and scientific research and serving teachers, students and staff should be established. They should get involved in practice and heed the opinions and voice of the broad masses of teachers and students, deal more with facts and work hard to raise their level of leadership. Leading bodies that are lax and unsuited to the needs of education reform should be resolutely readjusted. The third echelon should be strengthened and outstanding young and middle-aged cadres and teachers who fit the conditions of the cadre "four modernizations" should be promoted into leadership positions.

Instances of "the party not minding the party" that still exist in several schools should be earnestly corrected. Party organizations in the schools should certainly put their major efforts toward strengthening the party and improving ideological and political work and work hard to enhance the fighting power of party organizations. They should further improve the party's democratic centralism, allocate work properly between party and government, strengthen unity and vigorously prepare the conditions for implementing the school president responsibility system.



There are many difficulties in the schools' logistics work and it is fairly weak. This problem should be an important area for rectification and should be resolved step by step.

In order to complete the task of party rectification in the institutions of higher education at a high standard, school party committees should earnestly strengthen their leadership on party rectification work. Leading members of the party committees, particularly secretaries and deputy secretaries, should focus their efforts on party rectification. Leading party cadres with responsibility for teaching and administrative work should also enthusiastically support and cooperate with each other and, through party rectification, guarantee and promote education reform and promote the smooth progress of all work in the schools.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL EDUCATION IN UNIVERSITIES ANALYZED

Beijing JIAOYU YANJIU [EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH] in Chinese No 7, Jul 85 pp 52-57

[Article by Li Jingguang [2621 2529 0342], Li Qingshan [2621 1987 0810] and Wang Xiaoxun [3076 1420 6598]: "Ideological and Political Education in Institutions of Higher Education Must be Reformed"]

[Text] To implement Comrade Deng Xiaoping's "three orientations" instruction regarding education and his demand that ideological and political education in institutions of higher education be reformed, we have conducted a survey on 21 such institutions in Hebei, Tianjin, Henan, Hubei, Guangdong and Shanghai, and held 32 symposiums of various kinds attended by 303 people. We have also held discussions with leaders from the societies on ideological and political education in institutions of higher education in Tianjin, Henan and Hubei, as well as responsible comrades from education agencies in Guangdong and Hubei. In addition, we observed students in classrooms, assembly halls, cafeterias, dormitories, playgrounds and mass organizations, and read over 113 documents including university journals, bulletins and other publications, conference documents, experience summaries and students' opinions.

Our survey and analysis have convinced us that we must reform ideological and political education in institutions of higher education. And the key to reform lies in a change of concept.

Ideological and Political Education Must Be Reformed

It is clear from our investigation that everybody in institutions of higher education wants to reform, talks about it and is keen to speed it up. The ideological and political contingent in colleges and universities has done a lot of hard work to bring order out of chaos and implement the spirit of the 12th National Party Congress. They have had considerable achievements in reviving the party's fine tradition in ideological and political work and broken new ground in this area. Nevertheless, the present state of ideological and political education is ill suited to the overall national situation, or to the overall mood of our times with its emphasis on initiative, enterprising spirit and drive. Some political assistants said, "We have made subjective efforts, to little avail; we work very hard, but have little to show for it; we toil from dawn to dusk, but the students do not welcome us." Students often hold a passive attitude towards ideological and

political education at school, which, however, does not mean that today's university students are politically apathetic or are so concerned with the pursuit of expertise that they neglect moral character. Our investigation shows that in general, university students today remain very much interested in politics and pay a lot of attention to their political, ideological and moral growth and developments. Inside them is a wellspring of social and political initiative.

In the opinion of comrades long involved in student work, students' understanding of and attitudes towards ideological education have undergone a continuous evolution over the past 6 years. It can be roughly divided into three stages:

Stage 1, before and after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. Against the historical backdrop of dramatic political and social changes, students were freed from the bondage of leftist ideas and lost no time in catching up with the times by liberating their ideology and seeking the truth. But it has not been possible for them to grasp the essence of the spirit of the age overnight and in their search for the truth, some of them for a time found themselves in a state of confusion, perplexity and hesitation. In their naivety, others searched for the truth in the arsenal of Western bourgeois ideology, developing an interest in such Western political and philosophical trends of thought as humanism, Social Darwinism and existentialism. Unanalytically they considered all education "leftist" and blindly rejected it, becoming "drug-fast," so to speak.

Phase 2, which covered the period after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and the 12th National Party Congress. Conscientiously grasping and assimilating the lessons of history since the foundation of the People's Republic, young students ceased being critical all round and became more constructive in their thinking, even putting forward such slogans as "vitalize China" and "start from me, start from now." They took the initiative to get organized to study Marxism-Leninism and the party constitution, and launch various activities of educational significance. The development of self-education among students has become an important part of political and ideological education in institutions of higher education. According to statistics gathered in the survey, about 20 percent of students take part in party constitution studies at most colleges and 25 percent of all students have formally applied for party membership. One university conducted a scientific socialism study group during the summer vacation last year. Over 30 percent of its students attended voluntarily. In their spare time, student mass organizations often organize speech contests, seminars and theoretical discussions to examine crucial political and social issues. These gatherings are full-house events, with the crowds overflowing into the corridors. The students have a sincere attitude, the air is charged with excitement and the results are excellent. In all these respects, some ideological and political educational activities organized by college authorities pale by comparison.

Phase 3. During this period, the success of rural economic reforms, the advent of urban economic reforms and the new technological revolution sent a powerful message to institutions in the past year, generating another profound change in student thinking. On the one hand, they are sensitive to the pulse



of the times, work hard to meet social needs and take the initiative to equip themselves with multiple skills, all in an effort to be the innovative and skilled personnel needed by society. On the other hand, they are reinterpreting ideological and political education from a new angle and openly criticize its shortcomings which stand in the way of developing skilled personnel. Their message is loud and clear, "Every trade, every profession is being reformed. Why is it that only ideological and political education in institutions of higher education cannot be reformed?" "Is the present system designed to turn out skilled personnel or suppress talent?"

Witnessing changes in student thinking in recent years, political and ideological workers in institutions gradually came to understand their attitude to and feelings about ideological and political education. It began to dawn on comrades who earlier had complained about political indifference among students that most students are good. Student dissatisfaction with ideological and political education arises mainly from problems within such education itself.

Current problems in ideological and political education are:

(1) Dogmatism. Ideological and political education is divorced from realities and has no answers to real-world problems. It tends to avoid practical questions put forward by students. Marxist-Leninist theoretical education, in particular, is mere rote learning, a rigid imparting of knowledge which ignores all questions hotly debated in society and among students. Those who teach philosophy fail to guide students to see through the fallacy in the proposition, "Subjectively for oneself, objectively for others." Those who teach political economy fail to explain why capitalism is "dying but not dead" and the new conditions and problems which have appeared in China's effort to restructure its economic system. Those who teach scientific socialism fail to prove the superiority of socialism. Those who teach communist ethics fail to help students clarify the relationship between the notion, to each according to his work, and the communist attitude towards labor, so on and so forth. In all these disciplines, the method of teaching lacks any novelty, knowledge is outdated, the theoretical system and viewpoints have become rigidified, the method of demonstration and proof is mechanical, inflexible and boring and contributes nothing to the students' learning. The feeling is widespread among students that this type of education neither facilitates a person's search for new knowledge nor helps him understand society and life correctly. Ideological and political education is reduced to students memorizing some doctrines in order to pass examinations.

(2) formalism. Instead of stressing realities, ideological and political education does things for appearance's sake, content to assign tasks from top to bottom and let each level mobilize itself. Every time the "Courtesy Month" rolls around, a series of conferences will invariably be held at the municipal, institutional, departmental and even grade and class levels. Students are weary of these crude, repetitive activities which are superficial and produce no practical results.

(3) Instead of guiding students positively, ideological and political education is more concerned to achieve the negative aims of preventing them

from wrongdoing and controlling them. Instead of encouraging the development of student initiative and spontaneity, it tries its best to rein them in so that they will not make trouble. In the name of strengthening management, some institutions have drawn up regulations, as many as 200 in some instances, designed to control students. In recent years, moreover, regulations have been made to impose economic penalties on people who violate rules and regulations. As regulations become more elaborate and detailed, violations also increase, and as violations increase, student approval of the rules and regulations declines even further. In the end, institutions must back down from their control regulations which will become no more than a piece of paper. This approach directly damages the normal relationship between educators and students. Ordinarily staff and students already lack ideological exchanges, making it impossible for them to engage in confidential heart-to-heart talks, so students' ideological problems are not solved in time. Once things go wrong, political work cadres turn up in droves. Students compare their day-to-day relationship with political work personnel to that between "oil and water." When a problem crops up, they are like "cats and mice."

(4) Uniformism. When you demand that every student at college listens to the same report, the result is that the more senior students will feel "underfed," while the junior ones will suffer from "indigestion." When you demand that everybody joins an excursion, you only bore the old students even though freshmen may like the new experience. In our survey, we found that such practices are particularly galling to hard-driving students who are going all out "to be the best." To them, the uniform mold of ideological and political education is a major impediment to the development of first-rate expertise.

How should we really interpret these problems in ideological and political education? Where is the crux of the problems?

We believe that the failure of ideological and political education today to shake off its negative, reactive state can be traced basically to its unsuitability to the needs of social development, the needs of our times and changes in students' ideological developments.

Chinese society is in the grip of earthshaking changes and will continue to experience such changes. Time and time again, ideological liberation, the open door policy and economic reforms in rural and urban areas have challenged ideological and political education in institutions of higher education. They demand that we adapt to the changes of the times and conscientiously modify, modernize and reform ideological and political education, from its guiding ideology to specific requirements, from its contents and methodology to organizational format. Yet we have not done so, or done much less than our words suggest. Regarding guiding ideology, in particular, we have to various extents been bogged down where we were to begin with. In the end, we will inevitably fall behind the times and be relegated to a reactive passive condition.

It should be emphasized that even as ideological and political education wavers to and fro, unsure of itself, its objects -- young students -- are feverishly soaking up information on social change and following closely the

footsteps of social reform. They reflect the spirit of the times with a sensitivity, speediness and vividness which we do not possess. Their demands and aspirations for reforming ideological and political education often mirror the way they perceive social change and interpret the spirit of our times. Some comrades believe that the dissensions and debates in society regarding our understanding of modern university students essentially embody our interpretation of the dramatic changes taking place in society and our standards of evaluating all objects. As a result, only by putting ourselves at the forefront of social reform and grasping the spirit of the times can we correctly understand those for whom ideological and political education is intended. Only thus can we correctly pass judgment on the rights and wrongs, achievements and setbacks, successes and failures of ideological and political education. Only thus can we understand clearly why ideological and political education must be reformed, in what aspects and how.

### The Key Lies In a Change of Concept

How do we go about reforming ideological and political education? Where should we zero in on the problem? These questions are of general interest to everybody.

In the past 6 months, many institutions have been reforming ideological and political education in an exploratory or experimental fashion. Wuhan University started out by clarifying the guiding ideology of ideological and political education in the new era and vigorously developing students' innovative spirit, creating a favorable environment for the emergence of the "cream of the crop." Shanghai Jiaotong University began by reforming the management system of ideological education, increasing the powers of grassroots organizations and mobilizing the initiative, enthusiasm and creativity of the ideological and political education contingent. Shenzhen University took realities in the special economic zone as its point of departure, developed students' independence and initiative and promoted a close relationship between ideological and political education, on the one hand, and practice and society, on the other. All effective reforms are preceded by a change in concept. Without producing new concepts and discarding old ones, or replacing old concepts with new ones, no reform can amount to much. What are the criteria we should use in evaluating an institution? Stability, the absence of problems or the number and quality of the people it trains? As long as stability remains our criterion, reform cannot come into its own. The reason why some institutions still cling to the status quo even as they wait for the official green-light is because they fear unrest and crave stability. In our investigation, we saw that some institutions have not changed their old concepts but merely grafted onto them the appearance of others' new concepts.

They call this "reform," but what they have done is a worse disaster than no reform. Experience shows that the "second classroom" is a success. Using students' interests as a catalyst, the "second classroom" expands their range of activities, widens their vision and is a good vehicle for integrating moral education into the activities of mass organizations and extra-curricular activities. However, what some universities have done is to copy indiscriminately the form of the "second classroom" without bothering much



about students' characters. They group them into classes and put them through lectures after school. In addition, such disciplinary restrictions as checking on work attendance and examinations have been imposed. In the process, the "second classroom" degenerated into a duplicate of the "first classroom" and came to occupy even those after-school hours which the students could have used to develop their personality freely. We discovered that the old concepts affecting the current reform in ideological and political education come from three sources:

#### (1) Leftism

Its strongest manifestation at present can be found in the assessment of the situation at the ideological and political front. First, the notion of "taking class struggle as the key link" still prevails when a situation is being assessed. According to the leftist concept, the struggle for "supremacy" in the realm of political ideology has intensified and become more complex, the struggle "for the hearts and minds of young people and adolescents" has become more urgent and the danger of "peaceful change" still exists. Therefore, people under the influence of the leftist concept are suspicious towards the shift of focus in ideological and political work. Also, they continue to use the "political classification method" of political movements in analyzing the ideological and political conditions of university students today. Moreover, they cling to "leftist" standards in evaluating a student's ideology and conduct. For example, there is the time-honored habit of setting politics against professionalism, the collective against the individual, ideals against realities, and the so-called vertical view of looking at things against the horizontal view, etc. Similar "leftist" elements can be found in the contents of ideological and political education as well as its teaching method and management system.

#### (2) Traditions

With a civilization going back several thousand years, China has solid experience and a rich tradition in moral education. But traditional, isolated and conservative concepts, subtly and otherwise, have also produced negative effects and become our heavy historical burden. At present, these antiquated, traditional concepts affecting our reforms manifest themselves most conspicuously in the way we judge skilled personnel. First, our goal in the past was to develop people who were "honest, obedient and toe the line," the inward-looking types. We never took to students who liked to ask questions, had independent judgments and were no blind, simple-minded followers. In fact, we even regarded them as politically unstable and ideologically radical and arrogant. These concepts affect the way we evaluate the three goods, select people for awards and rule on party applications. Second, we paid scant attention to the development of student initiative, enthusiasm and creativity. We liked to take care of everything, never quite trusting their ability to study on their own or govern themselves and never giving them enough autonomy to engage in those activities, as if the moment we loosened the rein, all hell would break loose. Moreover, we were unaccustomed to dealing with them in a democratic way, preferring instead to put on the airs of an educator. Furthermore, such moral dictates as "Resign oneself to poverty and be content with principles," "Be fair," "Uphold justice and ignore self interests," "Be in good behavior," "Be gentle and cultivated" are to various extents incompatible and conflict with the latest upsurge of ideas

which emphasize the pursuit of wealth, economic acumen, aggressiveness and a strict concept of time. They also clash with the spirit of the age and personality traits represented by our role models who have emerged in social reform. Anachronistic and traditional concepts are blocking the evaluation, selection and absorption of new concepts in ideological and political education.

### (3) The influence of Soviet thinking of the 1950's

In the early 1950's, we acquired from the Soviet Union its educational theories. We cannot refute them in their entirety, but there are some concepts, principles and propositions which have negative impacts. Take, for instance, their view of the nature of education. The Soviet Union recognizes only the superstructure attribute of education and puts exclusive emphasis on the decisive effects of political relations on education and the fact that education is a tool of class struggle, ignoring to stress the fact that education is influenced by productive forces as well and that it is a means of developing social productive forces. As far as educational relations are concerned, Soviet educational theory recognizes the subjectivity and the subjective initiative of the educator only, not those of the person who is being educated. In the course of imparting ideological and political education, the teacher becomes the center around which everything else revolves. There is exclusive emphasis on the dissemination of knowledge, the assumption being that armed with the sum of human knowledge, students will develop a scientific world outlook and become communists. It should be made clear that such Soviet theoretical concepts have changed tremendously since the latter part of the 1950's, particularly in the 1960's and 1970's. It is absurd for us to stick to them in the 1980's.

A certain social ideology reflects a certain social existence. Today, Chinese society has long redirected the focus of its energies to the four modernizations, the restructuring of the economic system is gaining ground, the old economic model is being dismantled, and a new planned commodity economy is gradually taking shape. Appropriately, significant changes are taking place in our people's political life, spiritual life and moral life, shaking the basis of old concepts and fundamentally undermining the environment which gave rise to their birth and enables them to exercise their effects. Consequently, provided we are committed to reform and have the courage to forge ahead, we will certainly be able to free ourselves from the straitjacket of outworn concepts, develop new concepts which meet the needs of ideological and political education in the new era and establish a system of socialist ideological and political education theory and management with Chinese characteristics.

### Seek Truth From Facts, Innovate and Go Our Own Way

Comrade Deng Xiaoping's instruction that education must orient itself towards society, the world and the future takes us to the forefront of our times. It brings out scientifically the relationship between education and modernization, between education and the world, and between education and the future. It points out a direction for educational reform and sets the strategic goals and guiding ideology for reforms in ideological and political education.

Seek truth from facts, innovate and go our own way -- such should be the basic position institutions of higher education should take in reforming their ideological and political education.

In the light of the latest reform experience of institutions of higher education, including the new problems they are facing, we believe we should explore along the following lines:

(1) Correct the guiding ideology of ideological and political education.

Only by overhauling the guiding ideology can we begin to tackle a string of problems such as the substance, approach, organization, methodology, leadership and management system of ideological and political education.

Experience shows that overhauling the guiding ideology involves two aspects, a change in course and a clarification of position. By a change in course, we mean freeing oneself from the leftist shackles of "taking class struggle as the key link" and redirecting the focus of one's work. This entails reinterpreting socialism, its major contradictions and the primary missions of the historical stage of socialism. It also entails setting oneself free from the theory of continuous revolution under the proletarian dictatorship. The overriding mission of the party in the new era is to achieve the four modernizations. The four modernizations hinge on skilled personnel, who, in turn, are a product of education. It follows that developing more skilled personnel of a better caliber is the basic starting point and the end all of ideological and political education in institutions of higher education, a vital mission entrusted to it by our times.

By clarifying position, we mean defining the status of ideological and political education in the new era. We must correctly grasp and scientifically appraise the function of ideological and political education by examining the relationships between the construction of socialist material civilization and that of spiritual civilization, between ideological construction and ideological and political education, and between ideological and political education and physical and intellectual education. Experience tell us that we must resist the rightist tendency by seeking truth from facts as well as continuing to oppose the "leftist" tendency. The incipient rightist signs which we see in some quarters today do not spring from excessive ideological liberalization. On the contrary, it reflects ideological ossification which confuses people as they face a changing world and encourages their suspicion that ideological and political education may not serve the four modernizations by developing skilled personnel. The passivity, pessimism and inertia of the "leftist" ideology express themselves as the "theory of uselessness" and "liquidationism."

(2) Vigorously study Marxist ideological and political education with Chinese characteristics.

We should examine the following five current issues by combining theory and practice:

a. turning ideological and political education into a science. We should continuously probe into the objective laws of ideological and political education and apply them in moral education. The tendency to make ideological and political education an appendage of political movements must be resisted.

b. modernizing ideological education concepts. We must position ourselves at the forefront of the times, seize the pulse of our age and absorb and refine the new concepts derived from social change. We must seriously assimilate the new concepts which have emerged in the ideological liberation movement and review the tide of new objects which have sprung up in the course of restructuring the rural and urban economies. We must bring to light the new morality and values personified by the advanced model personages in their deeds, including their new and unique spirit, character, morals and concepts. We must study closely the effects of the new technological revolution on ideological and political education and foresee the many new problems the revolution will pose for it. Furthermore, we must examine those new problems and use their scientific solutions to enrich ideological and political education conceptually. What merits our special attention is changes in students' ideas.

c. socializing the ideological and political educational process. We must strengthen the connection between ideological and political education in institutions of higher education and real social life, and, through social practice, develop the communist ideology and morals among students in accordance with actual social needs.

We must convert the existing closed or semi-closed ideological and political educational process into an open one and conscientiously readjust the relationship between ideological and political education and real social life. The aim is to turn the educational process into an open process receptive to social influence and eager to draw sustenance from the modernization experience and the new technological revolution in the world.

We must energetically promote the integration between schools and society, between theory and practice and between book learning and participation in the great changes going on around us so that students can obtain in the complex social life an education which is genuine, not sham; complete, not partial; has intrinsic value and is not superficial; and realistic and not overly "idealistic" so that they will acquire a scientific understanding of society and life, accomplish the socialization of morals, ideology and politics, and become highly skilled personnel who can adapt to society and play an active role in transforming it.

d. democratizing the relationship between people engaged in political and ideological education and their students. The former must try to understand, trust and respect the latter, show a high regard for their initiative, enthusiasm and creativity and nurture them. University students are citizens of our socialist nation and future backbone of the four modernizations. They are the principal part and master of the educational process, not the objects of and control and spoon-feeding. As such, we must neither take a suspicious attitude towards them nor spoon-feed, thwart, investigate, suppress or punish them. Instead, we should develop their initiative and bring about democracy



in teaching, learning, management and living. We must support and guide students as they seek to educate, teach and govern themselves and run their own affairs. We must encourage them to explore, allowing them to make mistakes and correct them, inspire them to speak their minds, including their meanest thoughts, and gradually lead them to see the light. We must not dismiss any dissenting view as heresy in a knee-jerk way.

We must develop and perfect organizations of the party and the Communist Youth League among students and other student associations, expand the autonomy and power of student organizations at all levels and give them the freedom to take part in various social activities and mass organizational activities which improve their mental and physical well-being. We must facilitate student participation in university management and encourage and support their involvement in educational reform. In addition, we must perfect the legal system and, through state legislation, protect students' legitimate rights and interests. We must study and establish a democratic intercourse between educators (including leaders) and students, and familiarize ourselves with solving all kinds of student problems via democratic consultation. Educators should exert an edifying influence on students with their democratic style, thereby cultivating in the young people a socialist democratic spirit.

e. systematizing ideological and political education. Ideological and political education is a kind of systems engineering, its implementation being subject to a plethora of conditions and factors which are complex, interrelated and interacting. Hence ideological and political education must come up with its own scientific procedures and system in accordance with the laws governing the formation of students' moral characters so as to realize the systematization of education.

First, we must get rid of our ingrained habit of regarding ideological and political education as a political "movement."

We must cease to consider the methodology, both theoretical and practical, of ideological and political education in an isolated, partial and static light. Instead, we should adopt a comprehensive viewpoint, combining families, society and schools; linking high schools with universities; integrating moral education with intellectual and physical education; and merging all forces, including the party, administration, labor, the Communist Youth League and students, so that all factors, all channels and all approaches are brought to bear on ideological and political education from all perspectives. In this way, we can ensure that all forces and factors complement, reinforce and infiltrate one another.

We must design a curriculum for ideological and political education which combines unity with differentiation, and stability with flexibility. By unity, we mean all students must receive the kind of ideological education and discipline training which revolve around communism. Since college years are the time when young people form their world outlook, we must highlight education in Marxist theories. Differentiation refers to tailoring educational contents and requirements to suit students at different levels, different fields and different standards. Stability means that once the core curriculum and requirements are determined, they must be implemented



consistently. Frequent and rapid changes to keep up with the latest trend can only lead to formalism. By flexibility, we mean continuously modifying, revising and supplementing the curriculum in the light of social developments and students' ideological changes. An educational plan executed rigidly and mechanically without any flexibility will result in separating education from society and students. In the end, the educational plan will become just a piece of paper.

(3) Establish a dynamic ideological and political educational system.

The ideological and political educational system is the organizational guarantee of ideological and political education. The shortcomings of the present system are: over-centralization, excessive control, too many people running the show at the institutional level and even more so in the departments. Also, the closer we get to the grassroots, where responsibility is the greatest, the less autonomy we find. In terms of party-administration relationships, administrative units and their leaders at all levels in the college do not concern themselves with ideological and political education. Just as there is a split between moral education and intellectual and physical education, so there is also a great divide between politics and professional training. As far as the relationship between educators and students is concerned, the latter are shut out of the management system and relegated to a passive, reactive position, deprived of any opportunity to take part in decision making or any power. The division between educators and students lowers the educational value of management. The powers and responsibilities of the party, administration, workers, the league and student associations in the realm of ideological and political education are ill-defined. Some have power but lack responsibilities; others have responsibilities but not the power to carry them out; yet others have neither power nor responsibilities. This situation prevents them from being a systematic force influencing education. In short, the present system lacks dynamism and is ineffective.

To solve the above problems and reform the system, we must highlight one word, "flexible." Ideological and political education should be shaped by people directly responsible for it within the framework of a uniform guiding ideology and with due regard to specific conditions. It is the task of the leading agencies at the top to set goals, formulate policies, carry out inspection and exercise leadership. Institutional administrative leaders, for their part, must manage ideological and political education the way they manage intellectual or physical education, effectively and in an integrated way. The college party committee acts as a supervisor to ensure its quality. Student representatives must be directly inducted into the management system at all levels and their self-education made part of the overall system.

(4) Develop a contingent of professionals highly skilled in ideological and political education.

What matters most about such a contingent is quality, not quantity. Taking the long-term view, we should demand that the contingent be made up of people who have a good knowledge of the humanities, social science and general science as well as possessing the necessary credentials in political,

ideological and moral training. Moreover, they should have considerable research capability, communication skills and social skills.

For various reasons, ideological and political education does not enjoy a high social prestige. We must draw up practical policies to solve problems relating to the source, composition and quality, etc., of the contingent. Practical legislation is basic to consolidating the contingent and improving its quality.

This contingent, which specializes in ideological and political education, must integrate and coordinate their work with the teaching of the masses of regular teachers so that every teacher concerns himself with students' overall development and that every teacher is involved in ideological and political education, thereby reviving and strengthening the fine tradition of "imparting knowledge and educating people" in Chinese education.

(5) Reform ideological and political education in tandem with reforms in teaching and management.

To achieve a basic breakthrough, reforms in ideological and political education must go hand in hand with reforms in teaching and management. We must foresee and make provision for the new problems and new issues which teaching and management reforms may possibly create for ideological and political education. For instance, following the introduction of the credit system on a trial basis and the socialization of cafeterias and dormitories, the concept of the collective will become increasingly blurred, so corresponding changes will have to be made in the student collective and the organization and activities of ideological and political education. Moreover, after the state discontinues job allocation and let students find jobs on their own, their value system will undergo further changes. For this reason, the contents of ideological and political education and the position of educators must also be adjusted appropriately. If we can anticipate and examine such problems ahead of time and come up with effective strategies, ideological and political education will be able to seize the initiative instead of merely reacting, usher in a new era and achieve considerable results.

12581

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN IMPROVING PARTY STYLE, REFORM DISCUSSED

[Commentary: "Correct Party Style As a Way of Promoting Reform"]

[Text] In his speech at the national seminar on exchanging experience in correcting party style, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out, "The key to coming to grips with the construction of socialist spiritual civilization lies in correcting the style of the ruling party and raising the party consciousness of party members." Comrade Chen Yun made it clear in his address that correcting party style and raising members' consciousness are a major task facing the whole party right now. Only by correcting party style can we promote and ensure the success of structural economic reforms, as demonstrated by the experience of the CPC committees of some counties and at certain factories, mines and other enterprises.

#### The Party Committee Holds the Key

Reforming the economic system is an exploratory task. To make sure that reform proceeds in a correct direction, we need party committees consisting of cadres who have a strong party spirit, exhibit a positive party style, have the courage to innovate and are adept at reforms. Such leading groups must insist on doing things in accordance with the party's policies and take the general interest into account. What makes the experiences of CPC committees in some prefectures and counties and at factories, mines and other enterprises which attended the national seminar so valuable is that in their own way they all successfully withstood pressure from various quarters; correctly weighed personal interests against national interests, group interests against general interests and immediate gains against long-term gains; and adhered to the overriding goal of reform.

In the latter part of last year, wage increases, the indiscriminate distribution of bonuses, color TV sets and suits, and the supply of free lunches assumed epidemic proportions. The ill wind blew to Chenguang Machine Factory. Some of its workers complained, "The factory's output value has increased fourfold, yet we get only this pittance of a bonus. What peanuts! The leaders are only concerned to keep their jobs. They don't give a damn about our interests." Some cadres also urged the leaders, "Increase the bonus a little. That way we can placate the workers; otherwise, we may alienate them and lose our credibility." Confronted with all these pressures, the CPC committee studied the matter several times and concluded that the wilful

distribution of bonuses cannot mobilize the employees' initiative on a sustained basis. If everybody regardless of circumstances is given a free lunch costing 5 cents every day, the annual bill will come to more than 1 million yuan, which the factory cannot afford. To the CPC committee, the central aim of reform is to increase an enterprise's vitality and gradually break the habits of employees "eating out of the same big pot" of the enterprise and enterprises, in turn, living off the "big rice pot" of the state. But doesn't the giving away of free lunches and suits encourage a new version of "eating out of the same big pot?" This practice deviates from the general direction of enterprise reforms. Hence the CPC committee resisted the unhealthy tendency.

So did the CPC committees at many other factories, mines and enterprises which attended the experience exchange seminar. Their experience shows that in dealing with a problem, party organizations at all levels must make observation at the macro and micro levels and combine the two to make a correct judgment and arrive at an appropriate solution.

In correcting party style, leaders on the CPC committees must "correct themselves first before correcting others." They must not preach one thing and do something else. "The masses look to the cadres, the cadres look to party members, and party members look to the leaders." The masses are watching the leading cadres' every single move, listening to their every single word. Panzhihua Steelworks has enjoyed relatively good economic results in the past few years, making quite handsome profits. Nevertheless, the bonus collected by the plant's leaders is no more than the average bonus earned by the front line workers at key production factories and mines. Somebody commented that the plant director deserves a larger bonus for bearing a heavy responsibility and working hard. Director Zhao Zhengyu [6392 1813 3768] said, "I can't do that! There are 47,000 workers under me." He added, "The CPC committee secretary and I must not get rich ahead of others. Let everybody else do so first, then we'll become rich." One important factor for the fine party style at this plant is the firm refusal by the leading cadres on its CPC committee to use their power to benefit themselves and their relatives when it comes to housing allocation, wage adjustments and bonus distribution, matters which involve the masses' interests.

### Two Wings Take Off

Bursting with confidence, the party is now devoting its energies to reforming the urban economy. The economy is picking up momentum. Amidst all these reforms, however, some comrades have been paying exclusive attention to the development of material civilization and ignoring the development of spiritual civilization. Not enough notice has been given to the damage the unhealthy trend in some localities is doing to economic construction. Focusing on this problem, Comrade Chen Yun pointed out in his speech at the experience exchange seminar, "The economic construction which our nation is currently engaged in is socialist economic construction. Our economic structural reforms are socialist economic reforms. We are carrying out socialization modernization, not any other kind of modernization. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has also said recently, 'Our four modernizations and our economic structural reforms are preceded by one word, 'socialist.' In other words, they are socialist



modernizations and socialist economic structural reforms." Both Deng Xiaoping and Chen Yun spoke with the entire party in mind. A responsible comrade from the Central Discipline Inspection Commission emphasized, "The most important thing at this moment is to make the entire people pay attention to the development of spiritual civilization even as they are grappling with material civilization, and to reverse the tendency to overlook spiritual civilization and the cultivation of socialist ethics."

There is some talk in society today about going easy on the development of spiritual civilization. It is said that if we pay too much attention to party discipline and party spirit, people will feel restricted in what they can do to speed up the development of material civilization. They fear all the talk about organizational spirit and discipline may get in the way of reform. Party style is a product of reforms. Once our reforms succeed, so this theory goes, the party style will correct itself automatically. This kind of mistaken idea exists in all localities to various degrees. Combining their local realities with what they have learned from relevant Central Committee documents on reform and party style, comrades from the local CPC committees who attended the experience exchange seminar realized that the success or otherwise of reform hinges on the development of spiritual civilization and party style, and that reform and party style complement each other and are the two wings of economic takeoff. Comrades on the CPC committee in Jingshan County in Hubei criticized the misguided notion that correcting party style and invigorating the economy are mutually exclusive. They synthesized the two missions, established the guiding idea that efforts must be made to develop the two civilizations at the same time, and realized the dialectical relationship between spiritual civilization and promoting material civilization.

#### Basic Construction

In urban reforms, some people equate reform with contracting, and contracting with raking in more money; while in rural economic reforms, it is assumed that to get rich, one has to cotton up to people in power and secure advantages through pull or influence. After some analysis, party committee secretaries from counties, factories, mines and other enterprises attending the experience exchange seminar concluded that what has given rise to these ideas is that some cadres and party members think less in terms of "serving the people" and more in terms of making money. They lack lofty ideals and a sense of organizational discipline. To tackle the problem at its source, we must educate cadres and party members to serve the people, teach them party spirit and party discipline, improve the political quality of the contingent of party members, and enhance their ability to resist the unhealthy tendencies. This is a basic cure. To educate its party members in party spirit and discipline, Jiangnan Petroleum Management Bureau organized them to examine their ideology, party spirit and party style; review their experience and draw lessons from it; and increase their understanding. The 36 party members and cadres in the labor service company under the bureau once accepted "red packets" containing almost 2,000 yuan from subordinate agencies. Some party members thought that since they had done quite a bit for these agencies, it was only right that they got some "reward" in return. Through the "three examinations," however, they came to see that it was their job to serve the grassroots and that when



an agency at the higher level accepts "red packets" from a lower agency, it is in effect impinging upon the employees' interests. The leaders of the labor service company were the first to undergo self-criticism and return the "red packets." Some party members said afterwards, "We were muddleheaded at first and accepted the 'red packets.' It was only after we were educated that we felt ashamed and returned the 'red packets.' From now on we must think twice before we do anything and strive to be a clearheaded person as far as party style is concerned."

As we open up the country to the world and try to invigorate the economy, we will run into new situations and new problems. How to educate party members and cadres in a targeted way to serve the people and instil lofty communist ideals in them has become a crucial task for party committees at all levels. Party style involves ideology, politics, party spirit and style. The experience of the many CPC committees which took part in the seminar shows that wherever there are continuous efforts to strengthen education in party spirit and party discipline and improve the political quality of party members and cadres, party style changes for the better rapidly.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

'PRINCIPLE CADRES,' EMPTY TALK CRITICIZED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Gao Zhanxiang [7559 0594 4382]: "On 'Principle Cadres'"]

[Text] There are those cadres who always talk about "principles," and never give a concrete opinion, when anything crops up. Wherever they are, and whatever the problem is, they never have a different answer based on the time, place and people, but always cite the same "major principles" which are "universally applicable"--truly "one tone for all mountains, and one scripture for all temples." These cadres who do not solve concrete problems are referred to by the masses as "principle cadres." This reminds me of a story told by (Chernishchevskiy): There were those quacks who always prepared beforehand a panacea which they said could cure all diseases. This same medicine was used for anyone and any disease. Ivan broke a bone in his foot, and he was given some purgative and an enema. Peter was suffering from lymphatic tuberculosis, and he was also given some purgative and an enema. (Bavir) was in good health, but he was still given an enema. This was a perfect portrayal of the quacks who failed to suit the medicine to the illness. There is a striking resemblance between the "principle cadres" and the quacks.

There are good reasons for the "principle cadres" to talk about "principles." Some of them, unwilling to keep in touch with reality, do not know the real situation and, when a problem crops up, are unable to come up with a concrete solution. For the sake of face, they talk about "principles," trying to impress people with their "strong sense of principle." Some do not have a hardworking spirit and make little effort to study on a regular basis. When something crops up, they cannot do much thinking and come up with an opinion based on real knowledge and deep insight, and so they have to cite some "principles." Some lack the necessary professional knowledge, but are unwilling to drop their pretentious airs and are afraid that they may make a fool of themselves. So of them use "principles" to conceal their inadequacies. Still some think that in the new situation of reform and opening to the outside world, it is safe to talk about things "immaterial" and dangerous to be "concrete." They use "principles" as a shield.

Issues reported by those at lower levels to their superiors for instructions are always concrete issues. Problems to which the masses long for solutions

are always real problems. However, to their great disappointment, all they can get from the "principle cadres" will be "answers in principle." Many things the masses are concerned about and endeavors to get rid of the old and establish the new are often ruined in the hands of these "principle cadres."

The "principle cadres" appear to be "upholding principles." In fact, they are unprincipled. How can we say this with such certainty? Because the "principle cadres" have discarded the most fundamental principle of integrating theory with practice. Truth is concrete, and causes are real. Only by integrating with concrete practice will Marxism-Leninism acquire flesh and blood and a soul. Changing the world means to solve practical problems one by one. Our cause advances exactly in the practice of studying new situations and solving new problems. The work style characterized by idle talk about principles, repetition of stereotyped phrases and inability to solve practical problems is theoretically going against the Marxist-Leninist theory of knowledge, ideologically running counter to the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and methodologically running counter to the fundamental Marxist principle of making concrete analysis of concrete situations. It is a typically bureaucratic way of thinking and work style.

Indulgence in empty talk is a major obstacle to revolution and construction. Lenin said on many occasions that it was necessary to "do away with high-sounding words and do more with day-to-day, ordinary chores." Comrade Deng Xiaoping calls on all our cadres to "do more solid work instead of empty talk." To be a leader in the new period, one must not only be good at considering problems from a strategic viewpoint, but also know how to solve practical problems in real life. Now that the orientation of reform is clearly defined and a blueprint has been made, what we must avoid is empty talk, and what we need most is solid work. Every cadre must do solid work and solve the problems of a front, a unit, a village, a household and even a single person in a down-to-earth way. This is the foundation on which to establish ourselves and make our country prosperous and strong.

Our opposition to the "principle cadres" way of thinking and work style and our adherence to principle are two entirely different things. Principles are the yardstick for us to observe, analyze and handle problems, and they are our guide to action. Without principles, there will be no rules, and it will be impossible to make progress. Our grand cause in the new period has no need for "principle cadres" who indulge in endless empty talk. It needs thousands upon thousands of good cadres who are able to uphold principles, have the courage to advance against difficulties and know how to solve practical problems.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### IDEAS ON CADRE EVALUATION PRESENTED

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 20 Aug 85 p 5

[Article by Zheng Xiting [6774 3556 0080]: "Some Thoughts on the Question of Cadre Evaluation"]

[Text] Cadre evaluation is the crux of cadre management as a whole and the basis for cadre appointments. A cadre's promotion and demotion, reward and punishment, appointment and dismissal should all be based on his performance evaluation. This is a very important matter, but there is nothing abstruse or mysterious about it. I think that it is not difficult to do, so long as we insist on seeking truth from facts and follow the mass line. As to rules and regulations, I think they should be simple and easy to implement. In the following, I would like to discuss some of my personal views.

Cadre evaluation will be of little value if it is not conducted at regular intervals. Nor will it be useful to evaluate a cadre too often because it will not reflect his overall performance before the end of a certain period. At present, cadre evaluation is in most cases carried out on a crash basis. There are also cases where it is done every 6 months. In still other cases, cadres are being "evaluated all the time" and are under "constant scrutiny." Supposedly it is meant to show "concern" and to "accumulate data," but actually that is not the case. "Being watched and touched day and night, the cadres, who are supposed to be helped, are actually victimized."

Cadre evaluation should be conducted by the same persons who have the authority to recruit, appoint and dismiss cadres at each level. Those at a higher level evaluate those at the level immediately below them. A department or unit evaluates its own staff. The present practice of sending a work team to evaluate all the cadres in a certain place is apt to become biased because of the limitations of such a team. It is like "picking a general from among the dwarfs." To evaluate cadres, it is necessary to devote adequate manpower and effort to the task. It is not something that can be done by some persons chosen at random. Nor is it a good idea to have it done only by the veteran comrades who have moved back to the second and third lines. It should be done by the principal leading comrades of party committees at various levels with the participation of responsible comrades, experts, scholars and technical personnel in various fields.

The main items to be evaluated should include: 1) moral character--whether one serves the people or acts like an official, works for the public good or seeks personal gain; 2) ability--whether one has real ability and learning, professional skills and organizing and leading capacity; 3) use of personnel--whether one respects knowledge and competence and what kind of people one trusts and promotes; and 4) achievement--the result and impact of one's work. Cadres of different categories and at different levels should be further evaluated according to their functions and responsibilities, but the requirements should not be made too minute and elaborate. Cadres, particularly leading cadres, are not robots, and it is only necessary to evaluate their macroscopic field of vision, strategic thinking and sense of country, which are difficult to be expressed in figures and fractions. Even when such figures are available for reference, they should not be used mechanically. For example, county A has a good foundation and can easily increase its per capita income by 100 yuan, but county B with a poor foundation has difficulty even to increase its per capita income by 50 yuan. The question here is how should the two county heads be evaluated using these figures?

Some people feel that at present personnel relations are complicated, and there is still interference by remaining factionalism. They are afraid of offending people and find it difficult to talk to people face to face. Therefore, they often choose to talk with someone else in private and keep the evaluation a secret, thinking that in this way they can get the truth. In fact, a person's major shortcomings, mistakes, achievements and contributions and his inventions and creations, if any, are things which are already known and can entirely be brought into the open. Even in the case of leading cadres at the higher levels, though they are out of sight of the common people, what they do and how they make use of personnel still have a direct bearing on the people's vital interests. Just maintain a macroscopic viewpoint and assess the main aspects of their performance, and problems can be resolved by following the mass line. Some comrades have made things rather mysterious, which only give certain people an opportunity to take advantage of. Gossip, which normally cannot bear the light of day and cannot be placed on the table or mentioned in public, is taken as "real truths" by the comrades conducting the evaluations. The gossip may try to deceive, spread rumor, slander, flatter, or attach a tail to someone. Anyway it is "party secret," and no one will know what has been said. Sometimes a wicked person can make a simple question complicated to confuse you so that you have to put it aside for the time being. No one knows how many people have been affected by such delays.

Whether a person's performance is superior, average or poor among cadres at the same level should be rated through the evaluation process, and the person himself should be informed. This is very important because the aim is not the evaluation of cadres, but the education and improvement of cadres. At present in some places, however, the results of cadre evaluation are kept secret not only to the evaluated cadres themselves but even to party committees at the corresponding levels. Within a certain limit, decisions on cadre promotions, retentions, transfers, demotions and dismissals should also be made public. Why a cadre is promoted, demoted or dismissed should at least be made known to other cadres at the same level in order to inspire them to work conscientiously and dedicatedly for the revolutionary cause. At present,



there is no cadre evaluation system, no basis for promotion, retention, demotion and dismissal, no fair rewards and punishments, no distinction between right and wrong and no difference between achievements and errors. Some people are ignorant and incompetent, but get promotions just the same because they have mastered the art of establishing relations for favored treatment. Some are plainly incompetent or have obviously neglected their duties, but they still want to hang on as long as possible. When it becomes really impossible for them to stay on, they just get transferred to another place, and that's all there is to it.

Moreover, restrictions should be avoided in evaluating cadres. Leading cadres recommending competent people is a normal occurrence. But in some places, it is taken as an unofficial guideline for "evaluation as directed" and data made up accordingly. Some morally and professionally mediocre persons and persons who are good at currying favor with someone in authority for personal gain are thus getting boosted ahead. After implementation of the system in which wages of cadres will be related to specific work posts, some people may try even more vigorously to secure personal advances. Leading cadres must not "substitute their words for the law," still less appoint people by favoritism and on the basis of personal loyalty and trust. Of course they can recommend good people they have found by chance, but employment should be handled by relevant departments according to regulations and decided by party organizations concerned. It is necessary to mobilize party-member cadres, workers and staff members to recommend the wise and capable. Everyone should take part, including leading cadres. No one's recommendation is final. Every person, no matter who recommends him, must go through the evaluation process.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### VIEWS ON JUDICIAL REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHENGFA LUNTAN [POLITICS AND LAW FORUM] in Chinese No 1, Feb 85 pp 71-73

[Article by Huang Mingli [7806 2494 0448]: "Views on Judicial Reform"]

[Text] China's rural economic reform has made tremendous achievements, and an overall reform focusing on the cities is in the making. The "Resolution of the Party Central Committee on the Reform of the Economic System" passed at the 3d Plenary Session of the 12th party Central Committee declares: This reform is to "remold, under the premise of upholding the socialist system, the relevant links and aspects in the superstructure which are incompatible with the development of the productive forces." We must "encourage the various areas, departments and units to launch explorations and experiments in reform." Judicial work should, in line with the spirit of the "Resolution," actively explore the paths of reform, in order to fulfill the needs of China's developing economic reform, readjust more successfully, by means of law, the economic relations and activities, protect the achievements, and thereby serve the socialist modernization program.

Where do we start in judicial reform? What problems should be solved in the course thereof? The writer wishes to venture his humble views for exploration.

#### I. Internal Reform To Improve Efficiency

The internal reform of the judicial branch directly relates to the improvement of its efficiency. Though the functions of the public security, procuratorial, legal and judicial departments each have their own characteristics and the reform measures cannot be made uniform, they all have the following points in common, and their solution should be sought in the course of reform:

##### (1) Make the "Four Chiefs" Better Educated and More Professional

In addition to their strong professional nature, the public security, procuratorial, legal and judicial departments possess the powers of life and death. If the four chiefs leading and supervising law enforcement know nothing or very little about law, it will obviously be impossible for them to

enforce the law in their own departments and areas. Moreover, their ignorance may lead to mistakes and create irredeemable consequences. As pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping, "without professional knowledge ... the result is not only the failure to make the proper contributions and the creation of an improper effect, but also the production of an opposite influence." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 228). For this reason, he asked that "people with specialized knowledge serve as leaders of professional organs of the various levels." (Ibid., p 229). In regard to those leaders who are ignorant of their own fields and incapable of learning, they "can only be readjusted; there is no other way." (Ibid., p 228). In judicial reform, the four chiefs with little or no legal knowledge should have their work appropriately readjusted or be removed from leading posts. It is an expression of responsibility toward the people as well as the need of judicial reform itself. In electing or appointing the "four chiefs" hereafter, the possession of a certain amount of professional legal knowledge should be made into a requirement for consideration.

## (2) Reorganize the Current Cadres

Among China's current judicial cadres, "too many lack professional knowledge and ability and too few are qualified.... There are very few professional cadres who have studied and who understand law, administer the law impartially and are qualified in moral character." (Ibid., p 227). Comrade Deng Xiaoping's analysis is compatible with the current conditions of China's judicial cadre contingents. To change such conditions, we must reorganize the cadre contingents in the course of judicial reform. The reorganization should be launched in two aspects: ideological and professional. By means of ideological reorganization, we will further purge the "Leftist" ideological influence in case handling, put an end to the phenomenon of bending the law for personal reasons and eliminate the finality of judgments. For professional reorganization, we may follow the form of the uniform national judicial examinations to assess and improve the professional levels of the cadres in active service. By means of reorganization, we should resolutely retire or transfer away those who are inferior in political and professional qualities.

We suggest that, in the course of reorganizing the cadre contingents, the central departments concerned consider, draft and introduce regulations on the titles of judicial cadres, e.g., "regulations on the titles of judges," "on the titles of procurators" and "on the titles of lawyers," and change the current administrative system to the title system. It will not only promote the fulfillment of the intellectuals policy in the judicial realm, but also greatly arouse the initiative and enthusiasm of the broad masses of judicial cadres on active duty in studying and acquiring professional knowledge and thereby conduce to making the cadres more standardized and competent.

## (3) Strengthen the Judicial Organs of the Basic, Prefectural and Municipal Levels

Currently, more than 90 percent of the first and final hearings are concentrated in the basic level, prefectural and municipal judicial organs, but the strengths of these organs appear to be extremely weak. To change this

disparity, we must, on the basis of reorganizing the current judicial cadre contingents, reinforce as promptly as possible these organs. How do we reinforce them? By open recruitment in society and by assigning to them as many legal and professional personnel as possible trained in political and law colleges (departments) and schools.

#### (4) Create and Introduce Post Responsibility Systems in Judicial Organs

To improve efficiency, we must create post responsibility systems for judicial organs. How do we create them? We must give consideration to the different divisions of labor among the public security, procuratorial, legal and judicial departments and achieve the unity of functions, powers and responsibilities. After creating the systems, there must be stringent assessments and strict and fair reward and punishment. The current four assessments system followed by the administrative organs, namely, assessments of moral character, ability, attendance and achievements, is likewise suitable for judicial organs. Of course, the substance of assessments should be planned in line with the characteristics of judicial work and compatible to the practical, avoiding the tedious. Instead of holding them too frequently, the assessments should be scheduled either semiannually or annually. The three-in-one method of combining the cadres' own reports, mass evaluation and organizational appraisal may be adopted. The results of the assessments should serve as the basis of reward or punishment, which should be earnestly fulfilled.

#### (5) Strengthen the Prosecution of Economic Cases

The "Resolution on the Reform of the Economic System" declares: "As a result of the reform of the economic system and the development of the national economy, more and more economic relations and economic activity criterions need to be fixed in form of law. The state's legislative branch must strengthen economic legislation, the courts must give greater attention to the trial of economic cases, the procuratorial branch must reinforce its work on economic crimes, and the judicial branch must actively provide legal service to economic construction." Today, most of China's courts and procuratorates of the various levels in all areas have established economic trial courts and economic procuratorial sections (offices), but many areas fail to give adequate attention to them or make rational personnel assignments. In some areas such courts and sections are in name only, without substance. Extremely incompatible with the situation of the economic reform, this condition urgently needs to be changed. Economic trial and procuratorial work should be made a focus of the courts and procuratorates of the various levels. They should think of ways as promptly as possible to reinforce the strengths of economic trial and procuratorial work, especially the former. The feasible measures at present are: 1. Redistribution within the courts: The courts assign their own personnel who have studied or possess certain knowledge of economic law to the economic courts (sections) and let them perform trial and procuratorial work. 2. Hiring from outside: The courts engage outside cadres with economic, managerial, technical and professional knowledge to serve as advisers of the economic courts (sections) or "part-time judges" (a practice long in existence in some Western countries) for the prompt and accurate handling of economic cases. In addition, the various provincial and



municipal courts and procuratorial systems may devise ways to hold short-term training classes in economic trial and procuratorial work and strive to train a group of cadres within a short time to reinforce the basic level.

#### (6) Strengthen Judicial Interpretation

With the development of China's legal system, more and more laws and decrees will be drafted and promulgated. For judicial administration to keep pace with legislation and ensure the correct implementation of the laws and decrees, the Supreme People's Court and Supreme People's Procuratorate should strengthen the work of judicial interpretation and make it into a system as far as possible, in order to avoid the lack of uniform understanding after the laws are promulgated and difficulties in practical work resulting therefrom. Furthermore, the lack of uniform understanding will be unfavorable to the unity and authority of law.

#### (7) Facilitate Information Exchange

For a long time, the links of China's judicial community with its legal community are not close enough. It is unfavorable to the deployment of the judicial practice and detrimental to the development of legal education. Today, the rising momentum of the economic system reform has brought to the judicial branch many new problems requiring consideration and solution. The solution of the new problems urgently needs better channels of information and data exchange between the judicial and legal communities. The American practice of linking judicial administration with teaching and research and effecting their mutual transformation can serve as our reference. Today, many of China's judicial organs of the prefectural and municipal levels and above have established policy research rooms. This practice should be continued. Those which have not done so, especially the courts, should do so as soon as possible. Qualified basic level courts may also set up similar organs.

To produce relatively good results, judicial reform must be accompanied by synchronized reforms of party and government branches and other realms in society. It is because of their close links with judicial work. The related reforms mainly include the following aspects:

(1) The main responsible cadres of party and government branches should undergo the necessary training and testing in legal knowledge. The China People's University or organizational departments concerned may gradually initiate a scheduled testing system on the main responsible party and government comrades to examine and determine the extent of their legal knowledge and propel them to study. Law is policy in its finalized form. As the main responsible party and government comrades are the leaders in policy implementation, it is obviously out of the question for them to be ignorant of law. The Benqi municipal party committee made legal knowledge a part of cadre assessment. This practice should be spread. When electing and appointing the main responsible cadres in charge of political and legal work in party and government branches, knowledge of law should be made a requirement.

(2) We should strengthen and improve propaganda work on the legal system and develop the supervisory role of public opinion on judicial administration.



Commission Chairman Peng Zhen held three forums last year for the press on the issue of strengthening and improving propaganda work on the legal system. It was a move of a strategic foresight. With Comrade Peng Zhen's speeches as the compass, we suggest that all qualified news organs form legal system propaganda sections (groups), assign the necessary professional personnel and make it into a regular and systematic task. In propagandizing the legal system, we should give attention to the supervisory role of public opinion and the press on the judiciary, in order to ensure the correct implementation of the state's laws and decrees.

Besides the news units, all branches in society must strengthen propaganda on the legal system. Only thus will we reduce the current multitude of law illiterates and promote the implementation of the constitution and laws of the state.

(3) We must strengthen legislative work and promote the harmonious development of legislation and judicial administration. Today, we must, first of all, accelerate economic legislation and formulate a complete set of economic laws and regulations, such as laws on taxation, the relations between enterprises and workers, labor, corporations and labor unions. Meanwhile, we should also hasten the formulation and promulgation of certain basic laws with a wide range of application. Next, we must strengthen the work of legislative interpretation. Thirdly, we must launch the work of sorting and compiling existing laws and decrees. The numerous laws, decrees and regulations promulgated since the founding of the nation urgently need sorting, discarding the invalid and collecting the valid into volumes to facilitate application.

(4) We must reform legal education. The reform of legal education should start with the incompatibility of China's legal education with its judicial practice. First of all, we must reform the student recruitment system of political and law colleges (departments) and schools. Under the current system, most political and law college graduates entering society are around 20 years of age and, according to their legal age, they are not yet qualified to serve as judges and procurators. Judicial work requires not only legal expertise, but also knowledge in many other aspects, including social experience, which are not possessed by students in general going from school to school. Hereafter, political and law colleges (departments) and schools should admit as many applicants with 2 years or more of social practice as possible, or only college and technical secondary school graduates, and experimentally introduce the second academic degree system. Next, we should consider the readjustment of the political and law curriculums. The curriculums of advanced and intermediate legal education should be planned according to the requirements on the educational structure and political quality of political and legal cadres. We should also give consideration to the application of the results of today's new technological revolution in judicial practice and add some courses in natural science in political and law colleges (departments) and schools. In terms of such subjects as cybernetics, information theory and system theory with a wide range of application and comprehensive subjects with a considerable influence on judicial practice, it is even more appropriate to include them promptly in the curriculums of advanced law colleges and schools. In fact, basic knowledge in cybernetics has long been made a requirement in law colleges in the Soviet Union and other

countries. In addition, developing multilevel legal education, opening multiple paths of training and improving the quality of today's law teachers are all issues for consideration and solution in the reform of legal education.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

TWO THEORIES OF LABOR REFORM DISCUSSED

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 22 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Shi Xiaoxiong [0670 1420 7160]: "Step Up the Study of the Theory of Labor Reform for Criminals"]

[Text] In recent years, China's theory of labor reform has become a new discipline and has gradually come to be understood. Recently, the China Law Commission Labor Reform Law Research Commission was established, which will undoubtedly have a tremendous motive effect on serious exploration of the series of theoretical problems involved in setting up the discipline of Chinese labor reform.

In the early 1950's, the party and government organized on a large scale to deal with reform of criminals through labor, creating and developing the new Chinese labor reform and gradually bringing out the principles, policies and methods of the party's labor reform work. Over the last 30 years or more, labor reform work departments have effectively reformed the Xuantong Emperor, the puppet regime in Manchukuo, the Kuomintang and Japanese war criminals, as well as all types of criminals, including foreign spies, have gained people's attention and have evoked tremendous repercussions in China and abroad. As a result, at the present time, it is obviously particularly important and necessary to elevate more than 30 years of rich practical experience in labor reform work and scattered theoretical summaries into a systematic, uniquely Chinese scientific system of labor reform.

There are currently two major points of view on the overall drive for a scientific system of labor reform: one is to establish a scientific system for the study of labor reform and the other is to establish a scientific system for the study of labor reform law.

Comrades who advocate the study of labor reform believe that: 1. the study of labor reform would investigate the characteristics and patterns of reforming criminals through labor and the principles, policies, tenets, legal establishment and reform means of labor reform work, as well as whatever effectively fulfills that function, in order to arrive at a science with the optimum effectiveness in reforming criminals. 2. The scientific system of labor reform study would be composed of four levels: (1) the basic level, which is the laws, regulations, principles, policies and systems, etc. concerning labor reform work, (2) the practical level, which is the concrete practice of labor reform work, including labor reform production

work, labor reform discipline work and labor reform political work, (3) the theoretical level, which carries out systematic theoretical expositions of every aspect of labor reform work, including such areas as economic management in labor reform, the psychology of criminal reform, prison administration, reform through education, labor reform political work and labor reform law, and (4) the level of principle, which is the Marxist theory of labor reform. 3. As a result, those who hold this theory believe that the study of labor reform would be a comprehensive, frontier applied science that involves such disciplines as the science of law, criminology, pedagogy, psychology, sociology, social psychology, ethics, history, economics, labor, administration and enterprise management. 4. Labor reform law, which would operate on the theoretical level of labor reform study, is a discipline that investigates the history, current status, tenets and significance of labor reform legislation, as well as its nature and responsibilities, carries out systematic and detailed expositions of the laws and regulations concerning the labor reform organizations' work with criminals, including detention, release, prison administration, reform through education, reform through labor and hygiene, and carries out scientific demonstrations and analysis of these laws and regulations from a highly theoretical level. Labor reform law is not only an important component and discipline of socialist law, but also of the study of labor reform, thus labor reform law occupies a special position in the study of labor reform.

Comrades who advocate the study of labor reform law believe that: 1. the study of labor reform law should take labor reform law and labor reform practice as the object of its investigation and that it should constitute a scientific synthesis and theoretical summary of labor reform legislation and labor reform practice. As a result, its task is not simply to explain the articles of labor reform law, but on the basis of labor reform law and practice, to employ the relevant scientific theories and engage in investigation and exposition of the laws and regulations, characteristics, principles, policies, systems and methods of reform of criminals through labor, making it more methodical and scientific. 2. The theoretical system of the study of labor reform law can be divided into the following components: (1) introduction to the study of labor reform law; (2) study of prison administration; (3) study of reform through education; (4) study of labor reform; (5) labor reform economic management; (6) psychology of reform; (7) history of prisons in China; (8) foreign prison systems. 3. The study of labor reform law would be a branch of law and a relatively independent department. It would be based on a foundation of labor reform law and employ comprehensively the principles of such disciplines as education, psychology, sociology, ethics and psychiatry to discuss and explore problems relevant to labor reform, to more effectively punish and reform criminals. 4. As a branch of the scientific system of labor reform law--the study of labor reform indicates the basic means by which labor reform organizations reform criminals--labor reform is a discipline that is a major object of investigation. Through a combination of theory and practice, it brings to light the objective laws involved in reforming a criminal into a new man who supports himself. The study of labor reform would include: (1) the nature, characteristics and responsibilities of labor reform; (2) the theoretical basis of labor reform; (3) the historical process of labor reform; (4) the laws and regulations of labor reform; (5) the fundamental tenets of labor reform; (6) putting labor reform into effect.

## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### HISTORY OF NATIONAL REGIONAL AUTONOMY TRACED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 28, 15 Jul 85 p 17

[Article: "A Brief Account of CPC's Implementation of Its National Regional Autonomy Policy"]

[Text] The CPC consistently advocates equality between nationalities and the right of the minorities to manage their own affairs. National regional autonomy, by means of applying Marxism-Leninism to the solution of national problems, is the basic policy our party and state and an important political system of our country.

As early as in 1929, the "Announcement of the Red Fourth Army Command Headquarters" under the signatures of Mao Zedong and Zhu De declared that "the Man, Monggol, Hui and Zang nationalities decide on their own rules and regulations." At the enlarged Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth party Central Committee on 6 November 1938, Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that "we permit the Monggol, Hui, Zang, Miao, Yao, Yi and Fan nationalities to enjoy the same rights as the Han people and under the principle of jointly resisting Japan, the power of managing their own affairs." During the war against Japan, Comrade Zhou Enlai, on behalf of the party Central Committee, proposed the "Draft Program on Peaceful National Reconstruction" which stipulated that, "in minority areas, the equality and autonomy of all nationalities be recognized." The series of policy provisions laid the foundation for the policy of national regional autonomy. The 1941 "Administrative Program of the Government of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region" contained unequivocal provisions on forming national autonomous regions. On 1 May 1947, the party led the Monggol people to create the Nei Monggol Autonomous Region.

In September 1949, on the eve of national liberation, the "Common Program of the CPPCC" stipulated: "National regional autonomy should be introduced in compact minority communities." In December 1950, China established the Xikang Zeng Autonomous Region, one the largest national autonomous regions first formed after liberation. On 5 February 1951, the Government Administration Council of the PRC made six decisions on minority affairs. On 9 August 1952, Chairman Mao Zedong of the PRC government issued an order and promulgated and made effective the outline on implementing national regional autonomy. By June 1952, China had created 5 autonomous regions, 29 autonomous prefectures and 75 autonomous counties (banners).



On 31 May 1984, the Second Session of the Sixth NPC passed the "Autonomy Law of the PRC for National Regions," which became effective on 1 October of that year, thereby gradually perfecting China's policy of national regional autonomy. By June 1984, 5 autonomous regions, 31 autonomous prefectures and 80 autonomous counties (banners) had been established throughout the country.

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## NATIONAL AFFAIRS

### IMPACT OF AUTONOMY LAW IN XINJIANG DISCUSSED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 28, 15 Jul 85 pp 16-17

[Article by Li Xianguo [2621 3807 0948]: "Reverberations of the 'Autonomy Law' on Both Sides of the Tianshan Mountain"]

[Text] Effective since 1 November 1984, the "Autonomy Law of the PRC for National Regions" won the enthusiastic reception of Xinjiang's party and government departments and people of all nationalities and produced good results in the course of its implementation.

Xinjiang is a multinational region. After the founding of the nation, the people of all nationalities, in line with the party's autonomy policy on minority areas, successively established, from the lower to the higher level, six autonomous counties and five autonomous prefectures and created in 1955 the autonomous region with the Uygur people as the main body. In the past 3 decades or more, the people of all nationalities, under the guidance of the party's autonomy policy for minority areas, closely united, struggled arduously and produced a tremendous transformation of the previously impoverished and backward borderland. In the 1 year after the "Autonomy Law" became effective, besides utilizing such means of propaganda as newspapers, broadcasting and television and launching study and propaganda activities in diverse forms, all areas in the region gave attention to the following three tasks:

1. Further Promoting Unity. In the protracted common struggle, the region's 13 million residents of the various nationalities gradually built a new-model socialist national relationship of equality, unity and mutual help. Particularly in the past few years, a new situation of mutual trust, mutual support, learning from one another and mutual understanding emerged, attaining the peak of national unity in the region's history. To further promote unity and earnestly implement the autonomy law, the region's party and government departments of the various levels, while educating the cadres and masses in the Marxist national concept and improving their consciousness in following the national policy and upholding unity, launched a vigorous mass campaign to urge the people to respect one another's customs and habits and encourage the Han and minority cadres to learn one another's languages. Government workers conversant in two or more local languages were given rewards.

The regional national language work committee has a total of 70 workers of 10 nationalities, including Uygur, Han, Kazak, Monggol, Hui, Kirgiz, Xibe, Ozbek, Tatar and Eluosi. Here, mutually respecting one another's customs and habits and learning one another's languages have become a common practice. The bridge of common languages has narrowed the gap between them and enabled them to form a deep revolutionary friendship. An advanced group in national unity, the committee has won many commendations from the regional government.

2. Training Minority Cadres and Personnel. In the past 3 decades or more, the region's minority cadres and skilled personnel of all types continuously expanded. However, they still fell far short of the need of the four modernizations program in the new period and the requirements of the autonomy law. Therefore, in the course of implementing the autonomy law, the party and government departments of the various levels considered the training and promotion of minority cadres and personnel an important task. After the number of minority cadres showed an obvious increase, the government gave earnest attention to their studies in order to improve their political, professional, scientific and educational levels.

At the national unity experience exchange mass meeting held in Urumqi in May, the regional commerce department reported on the various ways of training minority cadres and personnel.

The department held remedial classes for the minorities. Over 3,700 minority workers attended the classes and over 2,100 received certificates of qualification. The department also held rotational training classes for minority cadres, trained 733 leading cadres of various levels, including county commerce bureau chiefs, area corporation managers and section chiefs, constituting 71 percent of the department's leading minority cadres. In addition, it also gave technical training classes to train skilled minorities in finance and accounting, statistics, food processing and cold storage, and improved the technical levels of over 1,500 skilled workers. To train high-level personnel on this basis, the department signed contracts with the Lanzhou commerce and Xinjiang finance and economics colleges and commissioned them to train high-level minority commercial personnel. To date, it has invested 200,000 yuan, and 132 minority students are enrolled in the schools.

Instances like the commerce department are innumerable in Xinjiang. Today, in line with the provisions of the autonomy law, the chairman of the regional people's government, the chiefs of the five autonomous prefectures and the magistrates of the six autonomous counties are all minority citizens chosen among those practicing local autonomy. Among the 88 chairmen of county people's congress standing committees, the 81 minority cadres constitute 92 percent of the total.

3. Developing Economy and Culture. Constituting one-sixth of China's territory, the region, with its vast area, beautiful mountains and rivers and rich natural resources, is a land of treasure to be exploited in the Greater Northwest. Fully utilizing the powers granted by the autonomy law, the regional people's government has decided to liberalize the policies, vigorously attract foreign capital with extremely favorable conditions and hasten the rate of the region's development. Meanwhile, it has also adopted

the policy of opening to all areas in the country, encouraging "east-west mutual aid," and welcoming the coastal areas to transfer technology, jointly exploit the resources and share in the benefit. Today, besides devoting the \$100 million World Bank loan to oil field explorations, the region sends out groups of people to study and observe and actively imports capital, personnel and technical equipment. Last year, it signed contracts with 22 provinces, cities and autonomous regions on over 1,400 cooperative economic and technical projects, and the additional output value was 100 million yuan. For the first time, its total industrial and agricultural output value exceeded 10 billion yuan, its total grain output topped 10 billion jin, the number of livestock on hand at the end of the year surpassed 30 million head, and its additional revenue reached 100 million yuan. In the first quarter this year, its industrial production continued to maintain the momentum, with a total output value of 1.5 billion yuan, constituting an increase of 28.4 percent compared with the same period last year.

One may expect that, with the further implementation of the autonomy law, a greater prosperity will emerge in the region.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

CRACKDOWN ON SMUGGLING STEPPED UP

Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 31 Jul 85 p 1

[Article: "Use Party Consolidation as the Motive Force and Strengthen the Fight Against Smuggling"]

[Text] While implementing the principle of enlivening the economy at home and opening to the outside and facilitating legitimate imports and exports, customhouses throughout the country, with party consolidation as the motive force, adopted multifaceted measures, vigorously strengthened the fight against smuggling and made obvious achievements. From the beginning of 1984 to the end of June this year, they uncovered over 39,000 cases of smuggling, involving a total value of more than 360 million yuan. The persons involved in 198 cases were transferred to the judicial branch for criminal prosecution.

Naturally, smuggling and sale of contrabands remain fairly serious in some areas, and their characteristics are not all identical with a few years ago. The noticeable characteristics are: The value of cases involving state and collective enterprises constitutes a fairly large proportion among the total value of contrabands uncovered; the number and value of major cases uncovered are rising continuously; smuggling activities have become more concentrated in import and export commodities by means of three channels, namely, freighting, ocean shipping and imported "donations;" and the varieties of contrabands have grown larger.

The national conference on smuggling held recently stressed that the customhouses must highlight the focal points against smuggling, consider the struggle against major and important cases their main task, and earnestly investigate and handle the major smuggling activities of enterprise units. They must give serious attention to the import of pornographic articles, the export of cultural relics and foreign exchange activities and strengthen their investigation and prosecution. They must continue to intensify the investigation and study of information on smuggling, learn the whereabouts of smugglers and track them down accurately, strictly follow the laws and decrees of the state, correctly exercise the powers granted them by the state and make investigations according to law and handle the cases in a civilized manner.

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NATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CHARGES FOR EXCESS BIRTHS--The State Family Planning Commission, Ministry of Finance and Auditing Office recently issued a joint circular, asking all areas to clarify earnestly and straighten the charges for excess births. According to the circular, the collection and management of the excess birth charges constitute an extremely important task. Some areas fail to give it proper attention and take effective measures, resulting in such problems as unclear base numbers, failure to follow regulations, indiscriminate collecting and disbursing and even corruption and privately dividing up the money. The circular demands an overall and thorough clarification of the management and use of the money collected. On this basis, an accounting and management system, including bookkeeping, reports and charts, and examination and approval, must be created and strengthened and systematic training of finance and accounting personnel launched. The circular demands that governments of all levels strengthen leadership and guard against making the clarification work a mere formality. It contains concrete provisions on the range, substance, methods and steps of clarification and straightening. [Text] [Beijing JIHUA SHENGYU BAO in Chinese 2 Aug 85 p 2] 6080

CSO: 4005/1354

EAST REGION

FERTILITY RATES IN THREE COUNTIES COMPARED

Beijing RENKOU YU JINGJI [POPULATION AND ECONOMY] in Chinese No 2, 25 Apr 85  
pp 15-19

[Article by Zhang Yunfan [1728 6663 5672] of the Fudan University Institute of Population Research: "Examining the Focus of Rural Population Control Through a Comparative Analysis of the Fertility Rates of Three Counties"]

[Text] Of the 1 billion people in China, 800 million reside in the vast countryside. The most basic key in controlling China's population growth lies in controlling rural population growth, and the key element in controlling population growth is the ability to lower the fertility rate.

This article will attempt to discover the major decisive factors affecting the rural fertility rate via a comparative analysis of the economic, cultural and other differences that appear among three counties in Zhejiang Province, with the goal of providing a foundation for improving our work in rural population control.

I. Differences in Natality Among Women of Child-bearing Age of the Three Counties of Jiande, Yiwu and Changshan in 1981

In 1981, the total population of Jiande County was 437,109. Its birth rate was 16.75 per thousand. Yiwu County had a total population of 569,432, with a birth rate of 19.93 per thousand. Changshan County had a total population of 286,704, with a birth rate of 20.85 per thousand. The 1981 fertility rates for women of child-bearing age of the three counties were generally as follows: Jiande: 61.83 per thousand; Yiwu: 80.85 per thousand; and Changshan: 90.56 per thousand.

The birth rate is the result of the composite functioning of the fertility rate and the percentage of women of child-bearing age in the total population. Besides being affected by the differences in fertility rates, could the differences in birth rates for the three counties be related to the percentage of women of child-bearing age of the total population? That is, would a reason for Jiande County's relatively low birth rate be related to the proportion of women of child-bearing age in that county, in addition to its comparatively low fertility rate, and that for the same reasons Changshan County exhibits completely opposite characteristics? The actual data

collected has ruled out this possibility. The percentages of women of child-bearing age of the total populations of the three counties were as follows: Jiande: 27.09 percent; Yiwu: 24.65 percent; and Changshan: 23.02 percent. The percentages of women of child-bearing age of the total female population of the three counties were: Jiande: 57.02 percent; Yiwu: 51.14 percent; and Changshan: 48.8 percent. This demonstrates that the proportion of women of child-bearing age was the highest for Jiande County, followed by Yiwu, and then Changshan. That is, as regards the potential natality of women of child-bearing age, the birth rate for Jiande County ought to be the highest, followed by Yiwu County, with Changshan the lowest. However, the above-mentioned data refutes this conclusion. This clearly tells us that the differences in the birth rates for the three counties is completely due to the differences in fertility rates. This conclusion has been proven by the total figures for the fertility rates in the three counties. Discounting the influence of age structure, the total fertility rates for the three counties were (figured in terms of the fertility rates of 5-year age groups): Changshan the highest at 2.75, followed by Yiwu at 2.50, with Jiande the lowest at 1.86.

The above data shows that the three counties all ranked consistently in the same order, whether it was for the birth rate, the general fertility rate for women of child-bearing age, or the total fertility rate. That is, Jiande County ranked first with the lowest rates, Yiwu County ranked second, and Changshan County was third with the highest rates. Therefore, according to this data, we can sum up the natality of the three counties' women of child-bearing age as belonging to one of three different types, with Changshan as a backwards-type fertility rate, with Yiwu as a transition-type and Jiande as an advance-type. This is the starting point for our further analysis.

Table 1. Comparative Natality for Women of Child-bearing Age in 1981 According to Age Group for the Three Counties

Age group (in years)	Jiande (per thousand)	Yiwu (per thousand)	Changshan (per thousand)	Jiande/ Changshan (percent)	Yiwu/ Changshan (percent)
15-19	4.30	5.74	4.69	91.68	122.39
20-24	162.89	172.31	200.33	81.31	86.01
25-29	175.86	237.23	231.07	76.11	102.67
30-34	24.06	65.32	70.72	34.02	92.36
35-39	4.01	15.25	26.88	14.92	56.73
40-44	1.01	3.76	14.67	6.88	25.02
45-49	0.46	0.61	2.12	21.70	28.77
15-49	61.83	80.85	90.56	68.28	89.28

For information concerning the fertility rates in 1981 among women of child-bearing age divided according to age group in the three counties see Table 1 above. From the table it can be seen that the fertility rates for women of

child-bearing age in the three counties according to age group basically corresponded to the said counties' three different natality types. With the exception of the 15-19 and 25-29 age groups in which slight deviations from the norm can be seen, Jiande County exhibited the lowest fertility rates for all other age groups, with Yiwu second and Changshan third (with the highest fertility rates). The highest fertility rates for all three counties were shown in the 25-29 year-old age group, followed by the 20-24 age group.

The reasons causing divergent fertility rates for the three different types are complex and varied. Generally speaking, in situations in which there are no marked biological or natural differences, the most important of all the factors limiting the fertility rate are the level of socioeconomic and cultural development, and the quality of family planning work, although a district's customs and habits and marriage system also play an important role in affecting the fertility rate. We shall proceed to explain separately the most important factors determining divergent fertility-rate types.

## II. Social and Economic Conditions as the Main Factors Affecting Fertility Rates

The differences in fertility-rate types for the three counties are closely related to the differences in their socioeconomic conditions and the level of the development of the productive forces.

First, from the point of view of economic conditions, natural environment and economic structure, Jiande County is the site of Xinan River Hydroelectric Power Station, and as a suburban county under the jurisdiction of Hangzhou City, it is located in close proximity to large-scale urban industry. Therefore, economic conditions are relatively good. This is reflected in the fact that in 1982 Jiande's output value of township and town enterprises was 50.05 percent of the total output value, that is, approximately one-half of the county's income was derived from industry. Yiwu County is located on the Zhegan Railway Line. Therefore, its system of transportation is well developed. Although it is not as well-off economically as Jiande County, it is considered to be an above average county in the province, and 40.75 percent of its rural revenue comes from industry. Changshan County is located in an inaccessible mountainous region, and is economically backward. This is reflected in its economic structure. Total industrial output value for the entire county only occupies 23.08 percent of the total output value. Second, as far as per capita income of the peasants in 1982 is concerned, Jiande County's collectively distributed per capita income was 192.6 yuan; Yiwu County's was 176.3 yuan, while Changshan County's was only 132 yuan. If commune members' income earned via household sideline occupations and diversified undertakings which were introduced after the implementation of the production responsibility system, is included, the average income for people in Jiande and Yiwu Counties, where there are many key households and specialized households, was even higher than that of Changshan County. Finally, as regards the composition of the labor force, the percentage of the total labor force in Jiande County engaged in the primary industry (agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery), was 70.13 percent; in the secondary and tertiary industries the figures were 20.75 percent and 9.10 percent, respectively. In

Yiwu County the percentage for primary industry was 78.86 percent, while the secondary and tertiary industries occupied 14.53 percent and 6.58 percent, respectively. In Changshan County the figures were 78.55 percent, 13.31 percent and 8.13 percent respectively. This shows that the proportion of agricultural workers of the total labor force was the lowest in Jiande County, thus giving Jiande a clear advantage over the other two counties in terms of the composition of the labor force. Yiwu and Changshan Counties did not show much difference as regards percentages of workers in the three types of industry, but the proportion of the rural labor force in Yiwu County employed as staff and workers in township and town enterprises in 1982 was higher than Changshan's. Therefore, the composition of Yiwu's labor force can be considered as clearly superior to Changshan's.

From the above analysis, it can be seen that there is a close relationship between differences in level of economic development and the fertility rate for the three counties. If the economy is developed, the fertility rate is comparatively low; conversely, when the economy is backward, the fertility rate is relatively high. Therefore, the economic factors formed by the level of the development of a district's productive forces are the main causes for the restriction of the fertility rate.

In order to illustrate even more clearly the effect of different economic conditions on the fertility rate, we shall here make a comparison of the parity rate for women of child-bearing age in the three counties according to occupation (see Table 2).

Table 2. A Comparison of Parities for Women of Child-bearing Age According to Occupation in the Three Counties in 1981

Occupations	Changshan County			Yiwu County			Jiande County		
	Third born and above	First born	Second born	Third born and above	First born	Second born	Third born and above	First born	Second born
Laborers in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery	45.55	27.21	27.25	23.39	39.27	37.34	9.32	62.29	28.39
Service workers	5.56	61.11	33.33	12.50	53.57	33.93	4.94	81.48	13.58
Commercial workers	6.25	77.08	16.67	9.04	46.97	43.94	1.64	90.16	8.20
Production, transport and related workers	12.35	57.61	30.04	8.72	60.08	31.20	1.81	89.43	8.76
Technicians	8.33	70.83	20.83	4.11	63.24	32.35	0.80	92.02	7.11
Responsible persons in state organs, party and mass organizations and enterprises and institutions	--	100.0	--	--	60.00	40.00	--	100.0	--
Office and related workers	--	75.00	25.00	--	100.0	--	--	100.0	--

Note: Other laborers were not included in this table because in 1981 workers in other occupations in the three counties had only two first-born babies.



From Table 2 it can be seen that the first born rate for farming, forestry, pastoral and fishery laborers in Changshan County was the lowest--a mere 27.21 percent, that is 69.29 percent of Yiwu's and 43.68 percent of Jiande County's. Changshan's rate of multiple births was the highest (45.55 percent), and was 1.95 times as much as Yiwu County's, and 4.89 times as much as Jiande's. For other laboring women in Changshan in occupations other than those of farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery, production workers, transport workers and related personnel showed the lowest first born rate 57.61 percent. The figures for workers in other occupations averaged above 61.11 percent. The lowest rate in Yiwu County was among commercial workers, 46.97 percent; the vast majority of workers in other trades was above 60 percent. In Jiande County, excluding laborers in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery, the first born rate for women of child-bearing age in all other occupations reached a fairly high level--over 81.48 percent. The rate of multiple births in 1981 for the county was in general comparatively low.

From Table 2 it can also be seen that the three counties also exhibited a similar tendency. That is, on the average, responsible persons, office workers and related personnel working in state organs, party and mass organizations, and in various units of enterprises and institutions have generally stopped having high order births. This shows that the level of awareness of the vast ranks of rural cadres is high. They have answered the call of their country by conscientiously implementing the state's natality policy and practicing what they preach. They are functioning as models for others to follow.

Another tendency in common was that the first born rate for women of child-bearing age among laborers in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery was universally rather low; the rate of multiple births was generally relatively high, and the second born rate was also very high. To a certain degree, differences in the parity rate were the reflection of differences in the fertility rate. Economically less well-off laborers in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery showed a widespread tendency toward having high order births. Doing population control work among laborers of these occupations is somewhat more difficult than among workers of other occupations.

This is yet another demonstration of the effect on the fertility rate of economic conditions. Differences in the fertility rate among farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery laborers compared to workers of other occupations to a certain degree reflected different population reproduction types among different segments of the population in differing economic structures. These differences have deep historical roots and practical reasons behind them. They cannot be eliminated completely in a short period of time. However, by developing the economy and taking strong measures, there is no doubt that quicker changes in the types of population reproduction can be affected. On the one hand, great efforts must be made to develop the rural economy, to raise agricultural productivity, and to take measures to promote changes in the internal structure of the agricultural labor force. These will make it possible to induce the peasants who have cultivated the fields for generations to lay down their hoes and rakes and to shift towards other areas of production.

This shift in the labor force in society will undoubtedly cause a profound social change in the structure of the rural labor force; promote the development of urban industry and commerce; and reduce the gap between the cities and the countryside, which will solve the problem of the peasant desire to have many children at its economic root. On the other hand, birth control work in the countryside must be strengthened. That is, restrictions must be placed on the unplanned second born, and an end must be brought to having high order births. Considering the special conditions in China's countryside at present, lowering the fertility rate by these methods of direct control plays a vital role. The focal point of rural birth control work at present lies in women working in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery. Good, patient, painstaking ideological work has to be done among these groups. Conscientious attempts must be made to solve the family problems of rural women, and to relieve them of their worries over having few children.

### III. Cultural Level Is an Important Factor Affecting the Fertility Rate

Clear typological differences exist in the three counties regarding cultural and educational levels. For a comparison of the numbers of persons per thousand at various cultural levels, see Table 3.

Table 3. A Comparison of the Numbers of People at Varying Educational Levels per Thousand Persons in the Three Counties

County	University graduates (including college dropouts and college students)	Senior middle school graduates	Junior middle school graduates	Elementary school leavers
Jiande	4.48	70.00	180.90	385.75
Yiwu	2.93	61.44	210.93	375.95
Changshan	2.13	41.44	140.41	341.31

From the table it can be seen that except for the fact that there were a higher number of junior middle school graduates in Yiwu than in Jiande and Changshan, generally speaking a uniform pattern was exhibited in which Jiande showed the highest educational level for all categories, followed by Yiwu, with Changshan the lowest. At the university level, Jiande's percentage was 2.1 times as much as Changhsna's, and 1.53 times as much as Yiwu's. At the senior middle school level, Yiwu's figure was 87 percent of Jiande's, while Changshan's percentage was only 59 percent of Jiande's.

There were also similar differences in tendency shown for the educational level for women of child-bearing age whose fertility rates were directly affected. For a comparison of the numbers of women per thousand at various educational levels in the three counties (see Table 4).

Table 4. A Comparison of the Numbers of Women per Thousand at Varying Educational Levels per Thousand Women in the Three Counties

County	University graduates (including college dropouts and college students)	Senior middle school graduates	Junior middle school graduates	Elementary school leavers
Jiande	1.88	54.73	139.83	333.21
Yiwu	0.81	42.87	165.61	334.35
Changshan	0.71	24.89	85.64	275.82

From Table 4 it can be seen that the numbers of women per thousand in Jiande at the university level was 2.3 times as high as Yiwu's, and 2.6 times as high as Changshan's. At the senior middle school level, Yiwu's figure was 78 percent of Jiande's; Changshan was 45 percent of Jiande's, all of which was a manifestation of the tendency in which Jiande ranked first, with Yiwu second and Changshan last.

For the relationship between the parity rate and educational level in the three counties, see Table 5.

Table 5. Parity Rates for Women of Child-bearing Age According to Educational Level in the Three Counties in 1981

County	Parity rate	First born rate	Second born rate	Third born rate	Fourth born rate	Rate of fifth born and above
Jiande	Average for entire county	65.03	25.42	6.53	1.94	1.08
	University graduates (including college dropouts and college students)	100.0	--	--	--	--
	Senior middle school graduates	91.02	8.35	0.42	0.21	--
	Junior middle school graduates	85.28	12.48	1.98	0.17	0.09
	Elementary school leavers	63.86	26.60	6.82	1.09	1.03
	Illiterate and semiliterate	53.89	32.23	9.05	3.14	1.69
Yiwu	Average for entire county	41.01	36.71	15.16	4.75	2.37
	University graduates (including college dropouts and college students)	66.67	33.33	--	--	--
	Senior middle school graduates	76.92	19.32	2.68	0.89	0.19
	Junior middle school graduates	52.93	36.55	7.94	2.13	0.45
	Elementary school leavers	38.01	37.56	16.99	5.07	2.37
	Illiterate and semiliterate	28.39	38.69	21.01	7.35	4.56
Changshan	Average for entire county	35.21	27.89	18.99	9.59	8.33
	University graduates (including college dropouts and college students)	85.71	14.29	--	--	--
	Senior middle school graduates	70.00	23.81	5.24	0.95	--
	Junior middle school graduates	55.56	29.98	9.22	2.94	2.31
	Elementary school leavers	38.13	29.57	16.96	8.26	7.08
	Illiterate and semiliterate	29.79	27.29	21.64	11.33	9.95

From Table 5 it can be seen that the first born rate for women of child-bearing age in 1981 in Jiande County at all educational levels (including illiterates and semiliterates), was higher than for Yiwu and Changshan Counties; that with the exception of the senior high school level, the first born rate for women of child-bearing age of all other educational backgrounds in Yiwu County was slightly lower than that of Changshan's, but that Changshan County showed the highest rate of multiple births.

Table 5 also reflects another common tendency. That is, women of child-bearing age at the university level stopped giving high order births; in each county, the first born rate for women of child-bearing age with a senior middle school education was higher than its average first born rate; in each county, the first born rate for women of child-bearing age with an elementary school education or less was lower than its average first born rate. The rate of multiple births, however, showed a reverse tendency. That is, in each county, the rate of multiple births for women of child-bearing age with an elementary education or less, including illiterates and semiliterates, was higher than its average rate of multiple births; and the rate of multiple births for women of child-bearing age with a senior middle school education or above was lower than its average rate of multiple births. Table 5 reflects another interesting tendency. That is, senior middle school was the key turning point at all levels of education. The first born rate for women of child-bearing age in all counties at the level of middle school or above was far higher than the same rate for women of child-bearing age at the level of junior middle school or below. For the rate of multiple births, the former was far lower than the latter. This shows that providing universal senior middle school education plays an extremely important role in lowering the rural fertility rate.

From this it can be seen that the first born rate is in direct proportion to the educational level of women of child-bearing age. This clearly tells us that high concentrations of high fertility rates are to be found among women of child-bearing age of lower educational backgrounds. Therefore, the focus of rural birth control work is among women of child-bearing age who are illiterate, semiliterate, and who have elementary school educations. While education is being universalized in the countryside, making great efforts to improve birth control work among women of child-bearing age of low educational backgrounds will play an important role in controlling rural population growth.

#### IV. The Important Effect of Family Planning Work on the Fertility Rate

Given the present conditions in China's countryside, measures that directly control the population, namely, the implementation of the natality policy have an important effect on the fertility rate.

The primary requirement and an important link of family planning is the promotion and implementation of deferred marriage and deferred child bearing. If this link is grasped, the real number of child-bearing years for women will be reduced, which will have a great effect on lowering the fertility rate. Despite the differences, we can see a universal phenomenon in the three



counties regarding early marriage. For example, of women who married before the ages of 15 to 19, 3.02 percent were from Jiande; 3.66 percent were from Yiwu, and 3.88 percent were from Changshan. Average fertility rates for women of this age group in 1981 were 4.8 per thousand for Jiande, 5.74 per thousand for Yiwu, and 4.69 per thousand for Changshan. The second highest average fertility rate for women of child-bearing age in 1981 in the three counties occurred in the 20-24 age group. The average fertility rate for this age group in Jiande County was 162.89 per thousand, Yiwu's was 172.31 per thousand, and Changshan's was 200.33 per thousand. As for the proportion of women of this age group in 1981 in the three counties who married before age 23, Jiande occupied 43 percent, Yiwu 37.81 percent, and Changshan 46.5 percent. It is not difficult to see that early marriage was an important factor in raising the fertility rate for this age group. If we can do a good job in family planning work and generally keep the rural marriage age at over 23, the average fertility rate for this age group will surely fall greatly, which will cause the general fertility rate for women of child-bearing age of all the counties to fall below its present level.

From other family planning indicators we can see the following situation for all three counties: the family planning rates for Jiande, Yiwu and Changshan, respectively, were 72.55 percent, 56.6 percent and 50.7 percent; deferred marriage rates for women were 55.39 percent, 66.7 percent and 40.1 percent; the only-child certificate rates were 50.59 percent, 12.6 percent and 12 percent; and the birth control rates were 87.51 percent, 89.1 percent and 75.1 percent. Although Yiwu had slightly better rates than Jiande for women's deferred marriage and use of birth control techniques, from the overall point of view, family planning work in Jiande was developed somewhat better, followed by Yiwu, with Changshan the worst.

To sum up, differences in the three counties' fertility rates are consistent with the social, economic and cultural differences among the counties. The most basic factor deciding the fertility rate is the economic one. An area's long-standing marriage system, customs and habits, and cultural and educational levels are all derived from the socioeconomic situation, and the level of development of the productive forces. They also change along with developments in the socioeconomic sphere. Therefore, while implementing family planning, we cannot forget for one moment to develop the economy. Population control can only proceed in step with the development of the economy in order for success to be achieved. At present, in China's vast countryside, great efforts should be made to improve population control work in economically backward areas. From the point of view of occupational structure, we must emphasize doing a good job in family planning work among women of child-bearing age who work in farming, forestry, animal husbandry and fishery. As for the educational structure, we ought to emphasize family planning work among women of child-bearing age who have junior middle school or lower educational levels. At the same time, we must also put a great effort into the promotion and implementation of deferred marriage, deferred child birth and resolutely bring an end to high order births.

12221

CSO: 4005/1079



EAST REGION

TRAINING OF TOWNSHIP HEADS IN JIANGXI PREFECTURE

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 4 Aug 85 p 1

[Report by Han Yu [7281 7183]]

[Text] In view of the fact that the present leading cadres of rural townships were not qualified to meet the requirements of the new situation, the Ganzhou Prefectural CPC Committee, Jiangxi Province, conscientiously implemented the CPC Central Committee's decision on speeding up cadre training and began in April this year to train all the rural township heads in the prefecture by stages and in groups. As of 12 July, the training was basically completed. A total of 377 rural township leading cadres, or 95.2 percent of the cadres who needed training, were trained. Since the training, the quality of the rural township leading cadres has shown remarkable improvement.

Since the structural reform of the rural economy, especially since the change from unified state purchase and marketing of agricultural products to regulation by the market with state participation, many leading township cadres were unable to keep up with the new situation in thinking and understanding and in administrative measures. "They longed for a relaxation of control, and they were stupefied when control was relaxed." They were ideologically unprepared for the changes in rural areas and lacked experience in managing rural economic work. In view of the situation, the Ganzhou Prefectural CPC Committee decided to run a "training class for rural township heads on rural economic management."

A striking feature of the training class was that the trainees were mainly new township heads who assumed office after the establishment of the township governments. Their average age was 36, and the youngest was 21. The main subject of their training was the CPC Central Committee's Document No 1 of this year. Around this focus, special emphasis was placed on basic theoretical studies and lectures given in a systematic way on subjects such as "Questions on Agricultural Modernization in China," "Vigorously Developing a Rural Commodity Economy," "Readjustment of the Agricultural Production Structure," development of rural township enterprises, scientific and technological transformation in rural areas, price reform, rural finance and taxation, banking, statistics, administration of justice and administration and management. At the same time, they adhered to the study style of linking theory with practice and closely linked the subjects being studied with the

actual conditions in each rural township. The trainees were guided to describe the current situation, look for causes, discuss their understandings and formulate plans. They also used key speakers and typical examples to help trainees inspire one another. Through the training, the quality of the rural township leading cadres has shown remarkable improvement. It has increased their understanding of the importance of developing the rural commodity economy and the spirit of the CPC Central Committee's Document No 1 of this year. Many trainees have written fairly good academic papers and articles on what they have learned. It is even more encouraging that after returning to their township leading posts, many trainees of the earlier groups have immediately put the knowledge they have acquired to practice and are leading township work with a new attitude and new concept. They have removed barriers which are not in line with the spirit of the CPC Central Committee's Document No 1, opened the way to invigorating the rural economy, made vigorous efforts to readjust the production structure, established a great agricultural system including 10 trades--farming, forestry, animal husbandry, side occupations, fishery, industry, commerce, transport, construction and service--paid attention to technological imports and training, popularized scientific knowledge and strived to develop rural township enterprises. Good results have been achieved.

12802

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

WORK OF LUOYANG MAYOR WU ZHENGUO COMMENDED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 29, 22 Jul 85 pp 22-23

[Article by Wang Gang [3769 5087] and Yu Fengchuan [0060 7685 1557]: "The Earnest and Competent Luoyang Mayor Wu Zhenguo"]

[Text] Comrade Hu Yaobang came to inspect Luoyang in the spring of 1984. Immediately after alighting from the train, he inspected the appearance of the rebuilt city along Zhongzhou Avenue. He had visited the city in the fifties. After more than 3 decades, Luoyang had transformed. The new buildings one after another and the evergreens, flowers and grass along both sides of the high- and low-speed road dazzled his eyes. He enthusiastically praised the tremendous changes of the city, the splendid urban streets and the success of tree planting, listened attentively to the work reports of the city leaders and urged them to make further progress.

Urban Construction

New mayor Wu Zhenguo [2976 2182 0948] felt the heavy responsibility of rebuilding the ancient city of Luoyang with its 2 million plus population. Determined to live up to the expectations of the central leaders, render service to the people of the city and be a competent mayor, he declared: "During my term as mayor, I must be worthy of the party and the people and let the people decide whether I am competent."

After working at the basic level for 2 decades, Wu Zhenguo, age 46, was transferred to the city in 1979 and became mayor during the organizational reform in 1983. Earnestly doing some good deeds for the people is a basic principle followed by him.

Luoyang's urban area is shaped like a belt, with Zhongzhou Avenue serving as the east-west artery. Automobiles, bicycles and pedestrians surged back and forth like tides on this road of more than 10 meters wide, particularly Zhongzhou West Road. Such large industries as the first tractor, bearing and mining machinery plants were all located on the north side of the road. During the afternoon rush, just bicycles alone packed the street and traffic was extremely congested. Rebuilding the street was imperative, but it was by no means easy! Where would the 5 million yuan come from? The city government did not have the money. Meanwhile, there must be no interruption of traffic

during rebuilding, for otherwise it would be difficult for the large plants to maintain normal production.

There were two opposing views on whether the project should be undertaken. For this reason, Wu Zhenguo asked the engineers of the urban construction bureau for their ideas on technology and cost estimates and held forums of experts and workers for their opinions. After obtaining a fairly good picture of how things stood, Wu Zhenguo made his decision. Short of money, he approached the responsible persons of the large plants, explained to them the significance of rebuilding the road and asked them to loan the money to the city, to be fully repaid 2 years later. The Luoyang glass plant, located on Zhongzhou East Road, took the lead to offer 800,000 yuan, other large plants followed suit, and the 5 million yuan was rapidly gathered. With Wu Zhenguo and the vice mayor in charge as the leaders, a project command post was set up, and the paving of the 12-11 road widening project was completed in January 1984.

Wu Zhenguo constantly stayed at the work site to clarify the construction problems and inspect and supervise the work. After 60 plus days, the miracle of a 12-11 new road emerged before people's eyes: On the 50-meter wide main road, motorized vehicles, bicycles and pedestrians each kept to their own paths, without interfering with one another. The 5-meter wide green belt was sodded and planted with evergreens, peonies and roses, and more than 1,000 locust trees lined the pedestrian sidewalks. Today, Zhongzhou West Road is green all year round, and flowers bloom along it in three seasons.

With the completion of the Zhongzhou West Road project, the 30-11 Zhongzhou Avenue has transformed into a broad and level thoroughfare. At this time, Wu Zhenguo shifted his attention to the trolley project. Many times he visited the work site to call on the technicians and workers from Beijing and thank them for traveling such a long way to render support to Luoyang. He studied the construction plans together with the comrades of the project command post. With the effort of the construction unit, the project was completed on "1 August" 1984 and opened to traffic. All at once 40 trolley cars were added to the city, finally easing the traffic congestion. Wu Zhenguo was faced with another difficult problem: A river diagonally threads through the city, and the Zhongzhou Bridge built in 1956 became a bottleneck on Zhongzhou Road. After the bridge expansion project was formally launched in August 1984, Wu Zhenguo constantly felt concerned about its progress. Once, upon returning to Luoyang at 11 pm after a meeting in Zhengzhou, the provincial capital, he insisted on visiting the night shift workers and checking on the construction. Just a few hours before starting on his trip abroad, he still rushed to the work site to take a look and give final advices. After more than 7 months of effort by the workers, the bridge expansion project was completed in April 1985, 30 days ahead of schedule.

#### Environmental Protection

The completion of the three projects promoted urban development and improved the people's living. However, instead of being satisfied, Wu Zhenguo began to ponder problems of intimate concern to the masses. The 84-year old Zhang Luosheng [1728 3157 3932] said: "I have lived along the street for 25 years, and I am most afraid of automobile horns. Every time a horn sounds, my heart

jumps!" Some elementary school students wrote the mayor on noise and environmental pollution. Wu Zhenguo felt the necessity of environmental protection, a major matter. He declared: "Failing to protect the environment is owing a debt to our future generations. If I, as the mayor, fail to create a pleasant living, studying and working environment, I cannot be considered competent." Starting on this understanding, he sponsored the city's first environmental protection news conference. At the news conference, he announced the following measures: The 6 seriously polluting units were to be closed, suspended, merged and converted; others were given a time limit to clean up the pollution; the five units which had failed to complete pollution control on schedule were charged double the usual pollution control fees and their plant directors and general engineers were fined from 30 to 50 yuan; the thermal power plant, which had completed the pollution control work in advance of schedule, was issued a 500-yuan bonus and a silk banner. He declared: "If the city's 'old' pollution is not corrected and its 'new' pollution not controlled, I will resign from my post as mayor."

After the news conference, Wu Zhenguo attended all meetings relevant to environmental protection and gave his personal attention to the major issues. To solve noise pollution caused by urban traffic, he issued the "Circular on Stringent Control of Urban Traffic Noise." Wearing an armband and holding a red flag, he performed duties on the streets, publicized the harms of traffic noise and lectured the drivers violating traffic regulations. Today, basically no automobile horn is heard on the major streets and the noise level has dropped an average of 6.2 decibel.

The city's environmental protection work won many commendations from the leaders of the State Council and departments concerned. Not long ago, the State Environmental Protection Bureau designated Luoyang an advanced city in the nation in environmental protection.

### Setting an Example

Setting a high standard for himself, Wu Zhenguo frequently stresses the necessity to do earnest deeds and disregard personal matters. He feels that, to do earnest deeds for the people, one must set a high standard for oneself, for otherwise, nothing will be accomplished. If one gives attention to personal matters, one's work will suffer. His younger brother came all the way from a rural village in the Northeast to ask his mayor brother to help him buy an automobile for his transport business. Not only he failed to buy an automobile, but felt totally frustrated. However, Wu Zhenguo feels a concern for the workers, especially the sanitation workers, calling them urban beauticians and holding an annual mass commendation meeting for them. The sanitation workers said emotionally: "We were scorned in the past, but we have now become the mayor's guests of honor!"

After Wu Zhenguo became mayor, the city three times assigned him a mayor's residence, but every time he yielded it to someone else. First given a high-level cadre residence, he, instead of accepting it, made it into the old cadres' activities rooms. Next given a house of over 100 square meters, he turned it into the office of the urban system reform commission. When the residence of the previous mayor was assigned him, he yielded it to an old



comrade. Wu Zhenguo's family of four still lives in his original quarters of 30 plus square meters.

At the conclusion of the interview, Wu Zhenguo exhorted us time and again: "Don't write about me. I personally do not have much ability. The achievements were made by relying on everyone. Recently, Comrade Hu Yaobang asked us to change earnestly the work style of the cadres. As the head of the city, I have not done enough."

6080

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CENTRAL-SOUTH REGION

HENAN ADOPTS MEASURES TO IMPROVE TREATMENT OF TEACHERS

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 2 Aug 85 p 1

[Article: "Henan Accelerates Educational Development and Improves Teachers' Working and Living Conditions"]

[Text] At the Henan provincial educational work conference on 24 July, deputy party secretary Liu Zhengwei [0491 2973 1218] announced that, to accelerate the development of education and improve the working and living conditions of teachers, the provincial party committee and government decided on 10 practical measures on education:

(1) The party and government leaders concerned must severally make contact with the schools, visit them, listen to the teachers' views and help solve the practical problems. (2) The wage readjustment of middle and elementary school teachers must be given priority. Before Teachers' Festival this year, the post-adjustment wages must be paid to the middle and elementary school and kindergarten teachers. (3) After the wage readjustment of middle and elementary school teachers, the subsidies to teachers of schools run by the people must be suitably increased. The concrete plans will be jointly formed by the provincial labor and personnel, education and finance departments. (4) Educational allocations will be increased. Beginning this year, educational surcharges will be collected. The various levels must spend 15 to 30 percent of their reserves on education. (5) Investments in capital construction for education will be increased and educational conditions improved. The provincial allocation on educational capital construction will be increased to 40 million yuan next year, and there will be a 10 percent annual increase during the "Seventh 5-Year Plan" period. (6) A special fund of 500,000 yuan will be allocated to encourage teachers. (7) The housing conditions of teachers will be improved, and an effort will be made to raise their housing conditions to the average level of residents. When plants, organs and organizations assign housing, where the spouse of a worker is a teacher, the worker should be given priority among those under identical conditions. (8) Teachers of schools run by the people who have taught for many years, whose achievements are outstanding and who have, by means of studying on their own, correspondence school, night university or television university, gained academic qualifications of the level of intermediate teachers' college or above, will be selected and recruited as teachers of state schools. (9) Teachers who have taught for 30 years or more will be issued certificates of honor. (10) Incidents of teacher beating will be earnestly handled. Currently, most of the thoroughly investigated cases have been prosecuted. An effort must be made to complete the prosecution of the pending cases before Teachers' Festival.

## BRIEFS

HUBEI'S YOUNG VAGRANTS--According to statistics from Hubei Province's Civil Affairs Department for January through May, although the number of vagrants and beggars taken in by the cities is 20 percent lower than for the same period last year, the number of youngsters among them has increased. The number of 7 to 15-year-old students taken in for vagrancy is especially glaring. According to the spokesman, the proportion of youngsters taken in by other cities in China has also increased. The relevant departments point out that the proportion of children and teenagers among the people taken by the cities has rarely been so large before. This is a potential factor for unrest and should attract the attention of schools, families and society. The following are understood to be reasons for youngster vagrancy: thanks to poor behavior or study, they get criticized by the teacher in school, then they suffer a beating or scolding from their parents when they return home, so they feel "bored" at school or home and they blindly leave; after watching martial arts movies or videos, they make off with household money and leave to practice martial arts; there is a certain percentage who float into society because they come from a broken home, where no one was concerned with their education; and some youngsters quit school to go into business and it sometimes happens that those taken in are engaged in buying and selling. [Text] [Beijing ZHONGGUO FAZHI BAO in Chinese 24 Jul 85 p 1] 12534

SOUTHWEST REGION

REVISED SICHUAN PEOPLE'S CONGRESS COMMITTEES REPORTED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 21 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] Due to changes in the constituent members of the Standing Committee of the Sichuan People's Congress, the Standing Committee has had to make additions and readjustments in the constituent members of various committees. The 14th meeting of the Standing Committee deliberated and decided on the following rosters, following the additions and readjustments to the various committees of the Standing Committee of the Sichuan People's Congress:

1. Judicial Committee

Chairman Wang Ao [3769 2407] (concurrent)

Vice Chairman Sun Zhifu [1327 5268 1318] (concurrent), Zeng Xianzhang [2087 2009 4545]

Members Li Xinfu [2621 6580 1133], Lin Xiangrong [2651 0686 2837], Jia Guanghou [6328 0342 0683]

2. Nationalities Committee

Chairman Zhaxizeren [2089 6007 3419 0088] (concurrent)

Vice Chairman Feng Bingxiang [7458 0393 0686]

Members Su Keming [5685 0344 2494], He Yunong [0149 7183 6593], Du Qionghu [2629 8825 2579], Wang Zeng [3769 1073], Bi Yuhua [3968 3768 5478]

3. Finance and Economics Committee

Chairman Xin Yizhi [6580 2496 0037]

Vice Chairman Wang Xueli [3769 1331 7812]

Members Liu Zhaofeng [0491 0340 0023], Wang Ke [3769 0344], Ji Wenguang [0370 2429 1639], Chen Zuxiang [7115 4371 3276], Ning Yao [1337 3852], Li Hanchao [7812 3352 6389], Lei Qiquan [7191 0796 5425]

#### 4. Agriculture Committee

Chairman Liu Haiquan [0491 3189 3123]

Vice Chairman Liu Ping [0491 1627]

Members Wang Weixun [3769 4850 6064], Li Shixun [2621 1102 8113], Li Jitai [2621 0679 3141], Zhou Yuzhen [0719 3768 2182]

#### 5. Education, Science, Culture and Public Health Committee

Chairman He Zhengqing [0149 2973 3237]

Vice Chairman Lu Guang [7627 0342]

Members An Wenlie [1344 2429 3525], Li Lizhong [2621 0500 5883], Liang Weizhou [4731 4850 5297], Li Guorun [2621 0948 3387]

12534

CSO: 4005/1308



SOUTHWEST REGION

SICHUAN REFORMS CADRE SELECTION, PROMOTION SYSTEM

Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by XINHUA reporter Huang Changlu [7806 2490 4389]]

[Text] Chengdu, 10 Aug (XINHUA)--The cadre selection and promotion system is being reformed in Sichuan Province. The first group of leading cadres at and above the county level recommended by the masses have assumed leading posts one after another following investigation by organization departments and examination and approval by party committees.

In the course of party consolidation, the Sichuan Provincial CPC Committee's Organization Department has straightened out the guiding ideology for its operations, clearly defining that the party's organizational work must be subordinated to and serve the party's overall goals and general tasks. They hold that the four modernizations program and the structural reform of the rural and urban economy urgently needs a large number of young and middle-aged cadres with a strong party spirit, real ability and learning and a pioneer spirit. In the past, it was entirely up to the leadership and the organization and personnel departments to choose cadres. With a single channel and a narrow field of vision, their choice was limited. It was impossible to fully tap the undiscovered human resources in different parts and fields of the province. To solve this problem, the provincial party committee's organization department set up a "personnel information center" to turn the closed way of selecting cadres into an open one by looking to society and relying on the masses. On 9 January this year, the director of the provincial party committee organization department gave a talk on the SICHUAN RIBAO and the Sichuan Television Station, earnestly hoping that comrades in all fields and circles in the province would vie with each other to be a "Bo Le" and recommend (including recommendation of oneself) to the "personnel information center" of the provincial party committee organization department outstanding people qualified to serve as leading cadres at and above the county level in the fields of finance, trade, banking, economics, management, opening to the outside world, ideology and party and government work. The talk evoked enthusiastic responses from the public. In 3 short months, more than 300 recommendation letters were received. Meanwhile, the provincial party committee organization department also selectively sent its people to attend large meetings held on various fronts in the whole province to discover talented people at the meetings and mobilize those present to recommend them.

It also took the initiative to invite responsible persons of local organizations of various democratic parties, people's organizations and press units as well as public figures without party affiliation, who have wide contacts in society and maintain extensive ties with the masses, to personnel recommendation meetings to listen to their opinions.

To understand more directly the cadre requirements of economic construction so that the intellectual and professional structure of leading bodies at various levels could be made more rational, the provincial party committee organization department called on comrades doing organizational work to concern themselves with the economy, understand economics and go deep into the economic field to understand and observe people. In addition to attending relevant meetings held by economic departments, responsible comrades of the organization department periodically studied and analyzed the whole province's economic development situation. They came to understand that Sichuan's future economic development will be to a large extent restricted by energy, and that Sichuan is richly endowed by nature in hydroelectric resources. Therefore, they actively looked for competent people in this field to take part in leading the work of the provincial planning and economic departments.

By recommendation of the wise and capable through many channels, a large number of competent people who were unknown to the organization departments in the past have now been selected. The provincial party committee organization department has organized investigations on these people group by group and, at the same time, asked the organization departments of the municipal, prefectural and autonomous prefectural party committees to help in the investigation and selection. As of the end of July, investigation was completed on a first group of 327 people. Based on a study by the organization department, 51 people will be chosen or transferred to join leading bodies of prefectures and counties and provincial-level departments and bureaus in the near future, and another 22 may become reserve cadres for leading bodies at and above the county level.

12802  
CS0: 4005/1393

## ADVANCEMENT OF CULTURAL WORK DISCUSSED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 85 pp 1, 4

[Text] The propaganda department of the provincial committee on 1-2 August at Chengdu held a symposium for the heads of the propaganda departments. The heads of the propaganda departments of each city, locality and autonomous prefecture along with responsible comrades from cultural and other units participated in the meeting. The chairman of the propaganda departments of the provincial committee and of the provincial standing committee Comrade Xu Chuan [6079 1557] presided over the meeting and the vice secretary of the provincial committee Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311] gave a talk at the meeting.

The participants in the meeting summarized and exchanged information on the situation of and their experience in upholding the two cultures and in stressing the importance of both of them, in promoting ideals, goals and disciplined education, in strengthening ideological work in the new period, etc. They affirmed the achievements of the previous stage of their work, set forth current problems in propaganda work and made plans for the second half of 1985. The conference stressed that propaganda work should uphold the seeking of truth from the facts and the general policy of steady progress, closely combine reform with practice, further stress ideals, goals and disciplined education and guarantee the smooth implementation of reforms.

The conference pointed out that the central leading comrades have repeatedly said that if we want to stress the construction of material culture we must also emphasize the construction of spiritual culture. We must especially concentrate on ideals and disciplined education. Stressing both cultures equally is the strategic general policy set down by the 12th Congress of the CPC. Since last winter the pace of reform has quickened. Ideological and political work has not kept up in some cases. The construction of spiritual culture has not been stressed often and forcefully enough. The construction of spiritual and material culture must be stressed evenly and simultaneously. Ignoring one or the other will not work. If we do not stress reform the national economy will not advance and the goal set down by the 12th Congress of the CPC of quadrupling the GNP will be impossible to achieve. Since the second half of last year the central leadership has issued one important document on reform after another. The pace of reform has quickened; the ideology of the people has become livelier than ever.

before. Problems never encountered before are appearing. Thus, the more we stress the construction of spiritual culture the more we must strengthen our ideological and political work. Only in this way can we guarantee the smooth implementation of the reforms. If when the reforms are at an advanced stage of their implementation we slack off in the construction of spiritual culture or if we slack off in our ideological and political work, this will cause many obstacles to reform and the reforms will not be done well. All levels of comrades on party committees and at every level in the propaganda departments must clearly recognize this point.

The conference believed that reform is now the most pressing task. No matter how many or how great are the difficulties we encounter, the reforms must be upheld unwaveringly. The reforms we speak of are those reforms resolutely carried out according to the explicit general and specific policies and plans of the central authorities. Reform must promote the development of the forces of production and assist in the construction of a vital and lively economic system. It must assist the construction of a distinctively Chinese brand of socialism. There are some people who are not sincerely carrying out the reforms but under the banner of reform are doing something else entirely. They are not interested in advancing the collective good and they scheme for the advantage of a small group or for their own personal advantage. This thing called "reform" is actually influencing reform, interfering with reform and ruins reform. It is also a great blow against ideological and political work and the working style of the party. We at every level of the leadership and at every level of propaganda work must straightforwardly and energetically criticize this bad tendency. We must prevent all sorts of wrong activities and guarantee the smooth implementation of reform. Our province relatively early stressed ideals, goals and disciplined education. This has had its effect. This work should continue to be deepened and developed. We should speak of socialism, of communist ideology, of the spirit of serving the people and of the four basic principles. We must use a correct, healthy and beneficial ideology to occupy the base area and guide the people toward progress through reform. Education in ideals and goals must be combined with the reality of the 1980's. It must receive a new content. Educating people in ideals must be closely combined with construction of the four modernizations, with redoubling the GNP and with carrying out our own work well. Thus, everyone will clearly understand that we strive today so that communism may be practiced in the future.

The conference believed that everyone today is most interested in the present situation and the problems of reform. Correctly analyzing a situation is a principle of Marxist learning. Only if we can correctly analyze a situation will we be able to come up with an appropriate policy response. Evaluating the situation incorrectly will lead to errors. Although some new problems have appeared in the course of reform our situation is good and our reforms have achieved excellent results. We can rely only on the method of reform within the continuing process of reform to resolve the problems of reform. We cannot retreat from reform. The reforms in the villages have already made great success. Reforms in the economic structure of the cities, in the educational system and in the scientific and technological system have already made a good start. The situation of the construction of the

economy and of our finances is good. The standard of living of the people has been raised. The work of peaceful unification is developing steadily. This is the mainstream of present developments. However, if when we observe difficulties and problems and do not look in a down-to-earth manner at the tributaries and do not solve the problems that appear, our situation, our reforms and peaceful unification will all be affected. Comrades at every level of the party and at every level of propaganda work must correctly judge situations, affirm the mainstream and keep up with the tributaries as well. Only in this way will we remain clear-headed, avoid rumors and avoid going from one extreme to the other. Thus all of our work will advance in the proper direction from start to finish.

12369

CSO: 4005/1384



LEADERSHIP OF PARTY CONSOLIDATION WORK TO BE STRENGTHENED

Chengdu SICHUAN RIBAO in Chinese 2 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Yuan Yulun [5913 6661 0243] and Meng Jining [1322 1015 1337]

[Text] The subcommittee of the provincial party committee which guides the consolidation of the party called a conference on party consolidation work at Chengdu for 29-31 July. The conference was called to relay the spirit of the report on the second phase of party consolidation work in six provinces and regions called by the subcommittee of the Central Committee which guides the consolidation of the party, to study the important talk of Comrade Hu Qili, to discuss integrating theory with practice, to strengthen leadership further, to resolve problems realistically and to do an even better job in the second phase of party consolidation work.

The deputy secretaries of the party committees of each city, locality and autonomous prefecture, persons in charge of party consolidation work and representatives of the provincial committee stationed in each city, locality and autonomous prefecture, attended the conference. The members of the subcommittee of the provincial committee which is concerned with consolidating party work hosted the conference. Nie Ronggui [5119 2837 6311], deputy secretary of the provincial committee, gave a talk at the conference.

The conference summarized and analyzed the situation and current problems in the consolidation of the party in our province since the beginning of the second phase. The conference believes that the development of the second phase of party consolidation work in our province has been healthy, has resolved some problems and has had some achievements. There are four main achievements: the first is to have refuted relatively early the education of the Cultural Revolution. Some units have been particularly effective in this. The second is to have stressed widely the party's nature, working style and discipline. This has fundamentally raised the political consciousness of party members. The third is to have strongly emphasized the rectification of the new improper working style in the party. This has put a stop to the improper working style. Some units have already corrected the improper working style; some others are still doing so. The fourth is to have stressed and carefully planned the leadership of party consolidation work. Yet the results of the second phase of party consolidation work should not be exaggerated. When we compare it with what we must do to consolidate

the party there is still a fairly long way to go. The development of party consolidation work has been uneven in different localities. Some units are vague on party consolidation work and have had indifferent results. In some cases the rectification of the new improper working style has not been done energetically enough and the results of rectification have not been great. In particular the investigation and disposition of large and important cases in the entire province have not been stressed sufficiently. Many units have not done a thorough job of educating about ideals and the party's character and work style. The top leaders of the party committees of some cities, localities and autonomous prefectures and of some counties do not stress the rectification of the party energetically and often enough. If this problem is not solved soon, some units will just go through the motions of consolidating the party or will be ineffective. This will disappoint the masses.

The conference pointed out that every unit working on the consolidation of the party must further improve the ideology guiding its party rectification work. They must certainly maintain high standards and carry out investigations strictly. The leaders must first of all make strict demands upon themselves and then upon party members. They must be serious about party rectification work. In investigating and disposing of important cases they must be strict and not lackadaisical. They must understand more clearly the ideology guaranteeing party consolidation and the promotion of reform. They must handle more correctly the links between party consolidation and reform. Through the consolidation of the party and by sweeping clear obstacles in the areas of ideology, working style, discipline, organization and other areas they must do a good, down-to-earth job of consolidating the party and conscientiously performing well the task of reform. They must uphold the general policy of simultaneously stressing the two cultures.

The conference stressed that since at present 80 percent of the units are at the consolidation and reform stage we must concentrate on doing these tasks well. First, we must conscientiously resolve problems in the ideology and working style of leaders. Leaders and cadres at every level must conscientiously work to overcome bureaucratism. In their work they must ask for concrete results and less empty talk, stress more the practical, move up to the frontline, go out among the masses and conscientiously solve existing problems. Second, we must do a better job in educating in the ideals, nature, working style and discipline of the party. Third, we must stress strongly the investigation and disposition of big and important cases. Every area should make new breakthroughs before August. Fourth, according to the general and specific policies set down by the central and provincial committees, we must rectify every kind of improper work style. Fifth, we must continue to stress the task of checking up on the "three kinds of people." Sixth, we must solve one by one the important problems confronting our units. In order to carry out even better this phase of party consolidation work the conference recommended that each city, locality and autonomous prefecture continue to strengthen its leadership of party consolidation work. In doing things oneself, leading meticulously and methodically investigating work by rank, each must be concerned with his own level. Generously help backward units. Don't do window dressing and don't write reformatory articles. Conscientiously do a good job on this phase of party consolidation work.

## IMPROPERLY RUN SCHOOLS TO BE RECTIFIED

Chongqing CHONGQING RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Fu Ze [0102 3419]

[Text] In recent years some institutions of higher learning in this city have been entrusted with the task of setting up university and college programs, technical secondary school programs and training programs. They have played an active role in raising the cultural, scientific and technical levels of the broad masses of cadres. The social forces of education have also been developed. This has certainly been effective. However, some schools and organizations, groups and private individuals are ignoring national regulations, do not report to the education and administrative departments and do not select their students through the uniform examination ordained by the state. These organizations are not qualified to run schools. They have established so-called "institutions of higher learning" and "programs for higher learning," are issuing diplomas on their own and take in tuition without authority. This has caused a bad reaction in society.

According to what I have heard, many "universities" and "programs for higher learning" have already started up. These schools have more than 1,600 students who have not taken the uniform entrance examination. Some schools are qualified but do not use the state-ordained uniform entrance examination nor do they report to or admit students according to the plans of the managing departments. They issue diplomas at will. In September 1984 some of these schools accepted people in their teacher's training courses without regard to their qualifications. Some people did not even have an elementary cultural level and were still admitted to "programs for higher learning." A retired cadre not qualified to teach technical subjects accepted some students who had not been accepted into university and ran a self-study university. He went throughout the province recruiting students and issued diplomas at will. A teacher at one college used the sign of his college to run together with an outside unit a program for "technical and higher learning." One unit set up a "university" with no qualified teachers and no regular teaching facilities and with fees. This "university" was not approved by the concerned departments and its students did not take the uniform entrance examination. This school set up 19 specialties and admitted many students from both inside and outside the province. Some of the "universities" run by units have emblems but no regulations. Some have no standards at all. Any worker can enter one if he has a work certificate. At the

same time these schools admit students from the outside by recommendation, by arbitrarily accepting some other school's short-term training class or training class as a "program of higher education" or by admitting people on a trial basis. Many of these people are just at the lower middle school or primary level. Most are accepted if they are able to pay the fees. The fees are high. The lowest is about 700 yuan a year. The highest is about 1,500 yuan a year. In addition there is a 200-yuan dormitory fee. The annual income of all these schools totals over 1 million. These schools pay no attention to the general policy of running a school, to the quality of the education or of the teachers, to equipment or to managing the life of the school.

These unfit "universities" and "institutions of higher learning" have had a very bad influence on society and the nation. They interfere with the educational programs of legitimate schools. Educational quality is not guaranteed and the improper style of entering school through the back door is encouraged.

Education is a science with its own intrinsic principles, laws and rules. It requires the spirit of seeking truth from the facts and doing things conscientiously according to educational regulations. Formalism and, even more, deception must be avoided. Only thus can we avoid wasting the nation's capital and misleading our young people. The concerned departments should uphold principles and in accordance with state regulations strictly investigate and correct the situation of higher education throughout the city. The relevant regulations for setting up every level and type of school should be re-stated and completed in order to prevent the "three disorders" from reappearing.

12369

CSO: 4005/1383

NORTH REGION

BEIJING UNIVERSITY SYMPOSIUM ON GRADUATE STUDIES REPORTED

Beijing ZHONGGUO JIAOYU BAO in Chinese 23 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The graduate school of Beijing University recently convened its first symposium on graduate studies. The comrades who participated in the symposium believe that valuing and developing graduate studies is a national necessity and a responsibility that Beijing University cannot shirk. Having a group of graduate students who have been trained domestically and independently, especially doctoral students, is a matter of fundamental importance for raising the quality of China's higher education and training professionals for China's socialist modernization drive. At the same time, putting the focus on training doctoral students would not only be beneficial to building a focal group of disciplines in the school, but would also benefit the school's becoming a center of teaching and scientific research as quickly as possible. Beijing University is currently testing a combination of graduate studies and teaching assistantships. The graduate students will gradually become an important teaching force in the school.

The symposium put forward four measures by which the school will strengthen and develop graduate studies. The first is to raise the understanding of the major significance of graduate studies among the entire teaching staff of the school and establish the thinking that undergraduate and graduate students should be given equal attention and that the whole school runs the graduate school. From now on, when the school's leaders discuss any school-wide work, they must always bring up graduate studies; when they consider establishing and developing focal disciplines, they must consider the training of graduate students; when they arrange their list of priorities for scientific research, they must arrange scientific research work for graduate students; and when they allocate funds, they must guarantee professional funds for graduate students. The second is to formulate a rational program for development and stipulate the proper ratio of undergraduates, master's students and doctoral students. Beijing University should have a rather large development in the number of its doctoral students, actively create the conditions and strive to establish a group of national focal disciplines and national-level focal laboratories. The third is to streamline government, relegate authority and clarify responsibilities. The school should strengthen the graduate school and clarify the scope of the graduate school's responsibilities. The graduate school and each department (institute or office) should each take charge of its duties, fulfill its responsibilities and raise its work efficiency. The fourth is to strengthen management and



work properly. Each department (institute or office) should earnestly deal with the management of graduate students, which includes enrollment, training and degrees as well as ideological and political work. They should concentrate on building the ranks of the teachers and setting up rational echelons of teachers. They should provide the necessary full-time or concurrent graduate secretaries and educational administration personnel and all departments (institutes or offices) with over 100 graduate students should set up a division-level graduate studies organization.

The symposium also discussed the reform of graduate studies and raised questions on the quality of graduate student training. The comrades participating in the symposium believe that gradually improving the enrollment system for graduate students, broadening the number of students admitted by examination and ensuring the quality of graduate students entering school are prerequisites for raising the quality of graduate student training. In order to broaden the number of doctoral students admitted by examination, the school should continue to try to move the outstanding master's students up to study for the doctoral degree. Everyone stressed that to strengthen the capacity to train graduate students and the degree curriculum and to put graduate students on a practical theoretical basis, they should open up fields of knowledge, increase inter-departmental and interdisciplinary elective courses and strengthen the horizontal connections between disciplines. Teaching methods should be reformed and work on graduate student theses strengthened. The comrades participating in the symposium also believe that concentrating on fostering graduate students' ideological and political quality is an important aspect of raising the quality of graduate student training. The school should adopt measures as soon as possible to change the present conditions where "no one wants to handle" graduate students and earnestly strengthen the ideological and political education of graduate students, to provide the country with qualified, high-level professional personnel.

12534

CSO: 4105/1304

NORTH REGION

BRIEFS

SHANXI CADRE TRAINING--Taiyuan, 26 Aug (XINHUA)--In the new school year which will soon begin in autumn, 150,000 on-the-job cadres will receive regular training, and as many as 100,000 of them are newly enrolled in schools. On the average, one out of every six cadres in the province is enrolled in a school for further education. In the past 2 years, party committees and governments at all levels in Shanxi Province have paid great attention to improving the cadres' educational and professional level. The Shanxi Provincial CPC Committee has specifically set up a leading group for cadre education, approved an education plan for cadres in the whole province from 1983 through 1990 and allocated funds for the specific purpose of building and expanding party schools at the prefectural and county levels. Prefectural, municipal and county party and government departments have also run various types of schools. [Text] [Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 27 Aug 85 p 1] 12802

CSO: 4005/1393

NORTHEAST REGION

RESULTS OF FAMILY PLANNING IN JILIN DESCRIBED

Beijing JIHUA SHENGYU in Chinese 2 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by correspondent Yao Li [1202 0500]]

[Text] During the past year Jilin Province has been conscientiously implementing and practicing the spirit of CPC Central Document No 7. It has improved its methods of work. There has been a profound change in family planning work throughout the province. In 33 counties and regions of the province there were no additional births to families which already had children. The population's rate of natural increase fell to 9.9% percent.

Jilin Province's work has achieved good results chiefly because it stressed four kinds of changes. The guiding ideology of their work changed from just giving orders and maintaining control to looking at the orders and examining what methods and measures are being used to carry out the orders. In their methods of control they changed from giving the masses a hard time and controlling them to serving the masses. In their birth-control measures they changed from relying principally on technical measures to combining allowances for individual differences with the practice of birth-control measures. In the matter of building up the ranks of the cadres they changed from emphasizing the usefulness of the cadres to stressing both their usefulness and their abilities and fostering and improving their abilities. Since they have concentrated on improving their working methods a very good situation has appeared in family planning in the entire province.

12369

CSO: 4005/1384

NORTHEAST REGION

JILIN PROVINCIAL PARTY SECRETARY PROFILED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK] in Chinese No 29, 22 Jul 85 p 17

[Article by Chen Mingxing [7115 2494 2502] and Li Detian [2621 1795 1131]:  
"New Jilin Provincial Party Secretary Gao Di--New Style Seen in Small Things"]

[Text] In the month of May, the feeling of spring filled the air of Changchun and the wind is mild and the sun bright. The fourth plenary session of the fourth Jilin provincial party committee was held in the Nanhu guest house. At the meeting, the leading group of the provincial party committee was readjusted and, with the approval of the party Central Committee, Comrade Gao Di [7559 3695] became the party secretary, the first in command.

Gao Di is 58 years old this year, has a college education, took part in revolutionary work in 1945, joined the party in 1946 and became the Jilin provincial party secretary in 1983. Immediately upon becoming the first in command, he successively undertook five things. Though minor, they reflected his thinking and character and his style of being modest and cautious, demanding strictly of himself, saying less hollow words and doing more solid deeds.

On the day he took office, CHANGCHUN RIBAO published in its "Readers' Evaluation" column a short letter written by him as an ordinary reader. He said in the letter: "... in CHANGCHUN RIBAO's article on 'the crisp cookie making machine which was imported by Laomaosheng from Japan and put 'nto production,' there was the statement that 'provincial party secretary Gao Di made an on-site inspection.' The word 'inspection,' when applied to leaders of the provincial level, is inappropriate, and it is even more inappropriate to name names. The party Central Committee has time and again instructed us to refrain from publicizing individuals. Please give the matter your serious attention and consideration. Gao Di."

At the reception on 18 May given by the new provincial party leaders to members of central news units stationed in Jilin and local reporters, party secretary Gao Di said sincerely: The leaders of the new Jilin provincial party committee welcome the news units' criticisms of the shortcomings in the party committee's work. Launching criticisms in the newspapers and helping us solve the current problems will propel us to perform our work successfully in the days to come.

On 20 May, when asked by the Jilin party school to write an inscription for the graduating cadres, Gao Di's written reply was: "Whatever you want me to write may be discussed. According to the stipulations of the party Central Committee, leading cadres will no longer write inscriptions in the future. This instance may be published in JILIN INFORMATION."

When holding a cordial conversation on 23 May with some comrades of the XINHUA NEWS AGENCY's Jilin branch, Comrade Gao Di said modestly and sincerely: In the future you (indicating the XINHUA branch) should write more internal references and report to the central government the problems in our party committee's work, in order to enable us to maintain a clear mind and constantly recognize and solve the new problems in our work, but less public and positive coverages. When the branch agency comrades said that "the achievements and experiences in work should be publicly reported by seeking truth from facts," Comrade Gao Di said: "All right. Your dispatches should be in line with the instructions of the general office."

On 27 May, only a few days after taking office, after attending the provincial people's congress meeting and planning the work, Gao Di immediately made a trip to the Yanbian Chaoxian autonomous prefecture in the east. During the special trip to visit the Chaoxian people, he earnestly helped them solve some problems, in order to promote the prosperity of their national economy and the improvement of their living.

6080

CSO: 4005/1349



NORTHEAST REGION

LI LIAN RADIO SPEECH ON TEACHERS DAY

SK100720 Harbin Heilongjiang Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 8 Sep 85

[Recorded radio speech made on 8 September by Li Lian, secretary of the provincial CPC Committee: "We Should Celebrate the First Teachers' Day With Our Concrete Deeds"]

[Text] The first teachers' day of our country is coming. On behalf of the provincial CPC Committee, I extend festive greetings and lofty respect to the teachers of various schools throughout the province, to those who are working in the remote and border areas, poverty-stricken places, and minority nationality areas, and to those who have engaged in teaching work for several decades.

Education is a great undertaking benefiting future generations and is being passed on generation after generation. It is also one of the strategic emphasis made by the CPC Central Committee in the program of realizing the four modernizations by the end of this century. Over the past years, the broad masses of teachers throughout the province, on the bases (?of nurturing talented personnel for the state), have trained (?a lot of personnel) for the program of building the four modernizations by working hard and painstakingly, and have made marked contributions to building the province into a prosperous and strong frontier of the country. The province's great achievement scored in the program of building the two civilizations is full of the teachers' sweat and spirit. In fulfilling the task of marching toward the four modernizations, the teachers (?determination) is (?progressive), their labor is arduous but glorious, and their posts are common but great. Therefore, teachers' achievements can (?always) go down in the history of human civilization.

In addition, the experience gained in the past has shown that a nationality a country must attach great importance to education and respect teachers if they want to become prosperous and wealthy. In the current society, (?the more progress people make in science and technology and in human civilization, the more importance they attach to education and teachers). An educator in the 17th century once said that there is nothing more significant than the educational undertaking under the sun, which deserves more respect by the people. The great revolutionary teacher, Lenin, once definitely pointed out that the practice of respecting teachers and paying attention to education is an important indicator of the progress of society and human civilization. He

urged the people to upgrade the position of teachers to the level as high as their position in the former society and to the level as high as possible in proletarian society. This indicates that education's influence in the socialist period has been constantly regarded as important.

The establishment of teachers' day represents the lofty respect paid by the party and the people to the educational undertakings and teachers. Our province is endowed with extensive territory and abundant natural resources, and [words indistinct], and has great latent power for development. Therefore, we pin our great hope on education. Only when we do a good job in conducting reforms in educational systems can we certainly flourish the economy by enforcing the policy of "two-reforms" and "two-opens" and achieve development in the economy, science and technology, and in society. We must regard the work of upgrading quality of the broad masses of working people as a strategic task and should grasp educational work as we did in economic work.

At present, our province has more than 40,000 schools of various categories, a ten-fold increase over the figure in the early stage of the PRC's founding. These schools have more than 8.3 million students, accounting for one-fourth of the province's total population. They are the great outstanding reserve forces of labor, technology, and cadres. In the next 10 to 20 years or more, they will be the backbone forces in various industries and trades. The key to developing the resource in this regard lies in doing a good job in conducting education. Comrades in various industries and trades should adopt a strategic attitude toward education and firmly foster the idea of respecting teachers and paying attention to education in order to bring into play the enthusiasm of the broad masses of teachers and to develop education in the province. At present, special attention should be paid to stressing teaching experience and doing a good job in implementing the policy on intellectuals.

Our province now has more than 400,000 teachers in universities and primary and middle schools. In the course of developing educational undertakings, a majority of them have unswervingly stood fast at their work posts and have experienced the tests of political revolution. So far as party policy towards the intellectuals is concerned, a minority of people have implemented it, but some comrades still have failed to implement it. Party committees at all levels and educational departments should conscientiously implement the policy towards intellectuals among various schools one after another and in a step-by-step manner.

The decision on reform of the educational system set forth by the CPC Central Committee has clearly pointed out the orientation for educational development and has drawn up a blueprint for educational development. We must study and implement the decision. The policy decision made by the provincial CPC Committee on implementing the CPC Central Committee's decision on reform of the educational system has specifically stipulated regulations on how to improve the teachers' social position and living conditions and on how to enable the teachers to bring their role into play in the four modernizations. Now we must concentrate on implementing these decisions.

In his speech to the national educational work conference, Comrade Xiaoping called on leaders of the whole party and all circles of utter less idle talk and to do more solid work. In line with the guidelines of his speech, we must conscientiously check up on our work and examine whether or not we really take the development of educational undertakings as a key task, whether or not we have the well-being of the teachers at heart, and whether or not we have implemented the decision of the CPC Central Committee and the policy decision of the provincial CPC Committee. The provincial CPC Committee has called on and led the party committees, governments, and departments at different levels to do more good deeds for education, schools, and teachers.

Fellow teachers: The whole party, the whole society, and the whole people have never shown so much concern about and given so much assistance to the development of educational undertakings than at present. The people's teachers should be worthy of the honorary title of [words indistinct] engineer of mankind, always remember the concerns by the party and the government and the expectations of the people, firmly foster a lofty revolutionary will, and really undertake the heavy task of conducting reform of the educational system. Teachers are educators. Thus, only when they have lofty ideals, moral integrity, knowledge, and a sense of discipline will they will be able to cultivate first-grade persons of new generation and will the schools really be powerful bases for resisting the corrosive influence of capitalism and other tendencies and for building socialist spiritual civilization.

Comrades, the date 9 September is a festival of the broad masses of teachers as well as a day when the whole society shows respect to the teachers. At the moment when we celebrate Teachers' Day, I hope that all localities throughout the province will form a fine practice of respecting teachers and education, and enable teaching work to be the most respectable job. So long as we show concern over education and the teachers, we will be able to promote the development of our province's educational undertakings to a new level.

Finally, I wish the teachers throughout the province a happy day and good health. Thank you.

CSO: 4005/1427

NORTHEAST REGION

STEPS TO IMPROVE LOT OF TEACHERS TAKEN

Beijing GUANGMING RIBAO in Chinese 18 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by correspondent Wang Enrong [3769 1869 2837]

[Text] Heilongjiang's CPC committee recently passed a resolution establishing new regulations in response to the problem of the treatment of the intellectuals.

The resolution stipulates that teachers who have completed 15 years of teaching in the border regions and teachers who have taught in the interior for 20 years are to be awarded an honorary people's teacher certificate by the provincial people's government. Teachers who have taught for 30 years may be given an honorary scholarship upon retirement. A Gardener's Award should be established and every year on Teacher's Day, 10 September, it should be awarded to the people's teachers who have made the most outstanding contributions.

The resolution stipulates that through various ways and means the problem of the living accommodations of teachers will be solved. First, once the problem of the primary and middle school dual system is solved the money originally used to handle that problem will be gradually shifted to a fund to construct housing for primary and middle school teachers. Every city and county should raise funds equal or slightly greater than the province's funding and use it to construct housing for teachers. Second, the funds originally used to build housing for intellectuals should continue to be spent with attention to resolving the housing problems of young and middle-aged teachers in institutions of higher learning. Third, the provincial government's regulation that every department must set aside 2 percent of its total investment in housing should continue to be carried out and used to build housing for teachers. Fourth, if one spouse is a people's teacher when the other spouse is assigned housing by his or her unit, the couple is to receive preferential treatment. Fifth, every publicly owned housing unit left by a teacher is to be returned to the education department for assignment to another teacher. Other departments may not take it back or use it.

The resolution also stipulates that the economic lot of the teachers is to be gradually improved. Every level and every type of school may use its

own capital and may suitably increase the proportion used for the collective welfare of the teachers and staff. All teachers who graduated from a middle school before 1968 and got their posts through an examination given by a first-class county's education department may receive the salary of a teacher of a middle teacher's school. Teachers at or above the level of middle school or the first grade of primary school, in special classes or specialized schools and at or above the rank of assistant professor at a university with more than 30 years of teaching experience may receive preferential treatment.

12369

CSO: 4005/1384



## NORTHEAST REGION

### SHENGYANG MILITARY REGION LEADERS VISIT NORTHEAST

OW112220 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1424 GMT 11 Sep 85

[Text] Shengyang, 11 Sep (XINHUA)--Liu Jingsong, commander of the Shengyang Military Region; and Liu Zhenhua, political commissar of the military region, recently visited Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning Provinces to brief local party and government leaders about the condition of PLA units and to improve mutual understanding. Their visits have strengthened the unity between the Army and the government and between the Army and Civilians. Since the beginning of this year, fairly big adjustments have been made with regard to the principal leaders of the three provinces and the Shengyang Military Region. In order to strengthen friendship and understanding among the new leading bodies, Liu Jingsong and Liu Zhenhua, from 30 August to 7 September, visited the three provinces to brief party and government leaders on three matters: 1) Progress made by units of the military region in structural reform and in the reduction-in-force reorganization in line with the guidelines of the enlarged session of the Central Military Commission; 2) specific plans for improving war preparedness in close cooperation with localities following the reduction of manpower in PLA units; 3) initial plans for supporting socialist construction and exploiting northeast China's natural resources in cooperation with the civilian sector. On behalf of the military region's commanders and fighters, Liu Jingsong and Liu Zhenhua thanked the party committees, governments, and people of the three provinces for their vigorous support for the reduction-in-strength reorganization and other work of the various units. The party, government, and military leaders had cordial and harmonious conversations together.

Leading comrades in the three provinces were deeply moved by the new leadership of the military region who personally took part in the work of making PLA units respect localities and in visiting local party and government leaders to brief them on the condition of PLA units. Leading comrades in the three province indicated that they would conscientiously carry out the guidelines of a circular of the party Central Committee and the State Council and do a better job in supporting and cherishing PLA units. Li Guixian, secretary of the Liaoning Provincial CPC Committee, said: "In the past I had little knowledge of the condition of PLA units, but after hearing the briefing by the leadership of the military region, I feel that I have a great responsibility. Henceforth, local party committees and governments should respect and support PLA units in two respects: 1) Strive to solve more problems for PLA units and help them overcome difficulties; 2) strive to improve economic work so as

to increase the strength of our nation and our armed forces. Li Lian, secretary of the Heilongjiang Provincial CPC Committee; and Gao Di, secretary of the Jilin Provincial CPC Committee, indicated that they would actively support the Army's reduction-in-strength reorganization, which is being carried out now. They said that military cadres, like local cadres, are valuable assets of the party and state. Everything should be done to place and use them properly.

Liu Jingsong and Liu Zhenhua also discussed with party and government leading comrades in the three provinces the military-civilian cooperation in exploiting the natural resources on the Daxingan Ling and in protecting military facilities. Party and government leading comrades in the three provinces feel that the exchange of information between the military and localities is a good form of strengthening understanding and contacts. The exchange of information should be instituted. They noted that such exchanges should be carried out once a year from now on.

CSO: 4005/1427

NORTHEAST REGION

PROVINCIAL CPC COMMITTEE ISSUES 8 EDUCATIONAL MEASURES

SK110323 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 9 Sep 85

[Text] In order to conscientiously implement the decision of the central authorities on reforming the educational undertakings, the provincial CPC Committee and government recently adopted eight emergency measures. The main contents of these measures are:

1. Vigorously implement the 9-year compulsory educational system in a step-by-step manner. About 50 percent of the counties, cities, and districts should popularize junior middle schools according to fixed quality and quantity by 1990; about 30 percent of the counties, cities, and districts should popularize general, vocational, and technical education at junior middle school level according to fixed quality and quantity by 1993; and about 20 percent of the counties, cities, and districts should meet the demand of popularizing 9-year compulsory education by 1995.
2. Actively readjust the structure of secondary education and vigorously develop vocational and technical education.
3. Reform the management system of higher educational institutes, expand the operational decision-making power of schools, further readjust the layout and the structure of specialized courses of higher educational schools, and develop higher education by introducing diversified standards and forms of multilayered teaching.
4. Vigorously develop adult education.
5. Strive to build a contingent of qualified teachers in sufficient numbers. In order to ensure the stability of the teachers ranks, other trades and professions are not permitted to recruit workers from the primary and middle school teachers ranks. It is not permitted to transfer or use qualified teachers to have them do other jobs without the agreement of the educational departments.
6. Respect teachers and pay attention to educational work, enhance social status of teachers, and improve their livelihood and wages. In the future, primary school teachers of grade 3 and middle school teachers of grade 5 or above will enjoy the same treatment of middle-ranking intellectuals. The

province and the various localities should raise a certain amount of funds to build living quarters for teachers. Cities and towns should allocate 15 percent of the available residential housing for primary and middle school teachers. We should strive to basically solve within 5 years the problem of teachers who have no houses or whose housing conditions are very poor. Priority should be given to changing the rural residence registrations of the family members of the teachers who have been teaching for over 15 years into urban residence registrations. Efforts should be made to solve problems in this regard within a short period of time. The province will issue certificates of honor to those teachers who have been teaching in the urban areas for over 30 years. In reference to the relevant stipulations of the 1983 document No. 316 issued by the [words indistinct], teachers who are teaching in the rural areas below the township level in the outlying district may receive a monthly living allowance of 15 yuan in accordance with the local financial resources. Teachers of the outlying district who have come to work in the urban areas may receive a monthly living allowance of 8 yuan. The quotas of the natural depletion of the numbers of teachers of educational departments should be controlled by the educational administrative departments, and be implemented in the teachers ranks. The provincial department of labor and personnel should strive its best to arrange annual floating labor quotas for some outstanding locally-run school teachers who want to become teachers of state-run schools. The locally-run school teachers will not undertake voluntary work.

7. Raise funds through various means to improve conditions for operating schools.

8. The CPC Committees and governments at all levels should strengthen leadership over educational work. The principal leaders should personally grasp this work and all members of the work shifts and groups should take part in the work. All trades and professions should consider supporting education as a glorious bounden duty and should promote a good social habit of respecting teachers and paying attention to educational work.

CSO: 4005/1427

NORTHEAST REGION

BRIEFS

HUNJIANG CITY ELECTS NEW LEADERS--The first session of the first Hunjiang City People's Congress ended today. A total of seven persons including chairman and vice chairmen of the city People's Congress Standing Committee, were elected. Sun Yuqing [1327 3768 3237] was elected chairman. A new mayor and two vice mayors were elected. Gao Dexiang [7559 179 4382] was elected mayor. Among the newly elected mayor and vice mayors, 66.7 percent have received college education or above. The first session of the first Hunjiang City CPPCC Committee was also held simultaneously. Liu Wen [0491 2429] was elected chairman of the Hunjiang City CPPCC Committee. [Text] [Changchun JILIN RIBAO in Chinese 1 Sep 85 p 1 SK]

CSO: 4005/1427



DIFFICULTIES OF CONTROLLING SHAANXI'S POPULATION ANALYZED

Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 5 Aug 85 p 1

[Article by Huang Huiliang [7806 6540 0081]

[Text] The provincial conference on family planning concluded 5 August at Xian. the conference conscientiously summarized the experience and lessons of our province's family planning work in recent years and made arrangements and strategic plans for future work.

This year our province's family planning work has achieved excellent results. Especially since last year, due to the conscientious study of Document No 7 of the central authorities, we have been able to control population growth effectively, improve our working style and methods and draw closer the bonds between the party and the masses. However, because some comrades and a part of the masses did not correctly and completely understand Document No 7, some areas were recklessly severe while in other counties the proportion of births to families that already had a child as over 10 percent. There were townships in which unplanned births amounted to 80 percent of the total--areas in which responsibility was totally abdicated. During the next decade or so the children born during the 1963-1972 peak in the birth rate will one by one enter their reproductive years. Thus, a rate of 1 child per family will give us an average of 380,000 births per year. However, if we are to achieve our province's goal at the close of the century of a 34.55 million population, the average number of births must not exceed 302,000. This shows that the family planning task from now until the end of the century is very great and is one that we cannot treat lightly.

The conference adopted two measures on family planning work.

First, in order to devolve the responsibility for population control onto each locality and city and give each locality the power of self-determination, the province signed with each locality and city a "Document on Responsibility for Family Planning" in order to make family planning work easier.

Second, we must propagate the experience of the Hanzhong basin. The conference gave high marks to the special achievements of the family planning work of the Hanzhong basin region and the experience of "treating different areas differently and giving different advice according to the situation."

The provincial government decided to bestow upon this region the honorary title of "Advanced Family Planning Region" and awarded it a prize flag and a prize of 30,000 yuan.

The provincial committee's vice secretary Zhou Yaguang [0719 7161 0342] and the vice governor Sun Daren [1327 6671 0086] gave talks at the conference. Liu Lizhen [0491 0500 6297], Liu Gangmin [0491 0474 3046], Li Jinglun [2621 4842 4858] and other comrades also attended the conference.

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CSO: 4005/1383

NORTHWEST REGION

BRIEFS

VOCATIONAL, TECHNICAL EDUCATION--Our province started to develop vocational and technical education in 1980. At the end of last year there were already 165 vocational middle schools. More than 120 middle schools had supplemental vocational education programs. More than 38,000 students were attending these schools and programs. When we add to this number students in specialized middle schools and technical schools, the number of students in technical and vocational schools makes up 25.44 percent of the total number of middle school students. In addition, 17 vocational junior middle schools which were established on an experimental basis have more than 2,800 students. In 5 short years a group of talented people has been trained. Some results have been achieved. Graduates have been welcomed by enterprises. Many have already become the technical backbone of their enterprises or have become very accomplished specialized households. [Excerpts] [Xian SHAANXI RIBAO in Chinese 3 Aug 85 p 1] 12369

CSO: 4005/1384

MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY AFFAIRS

ARMED POLICE POLITICAL COMMISSAR INTERVIEWED

Beijing LIAOWANG [OUTLOOK WEEKLY] in Chinese No 33, 19 Aug 85 pp 13-14

[Article by Zhong Zhanghang [6988 7022 3163] and Hang Zhou [5300 5297]

[Excerpts] We arrived at the Chinese People's Armed Police headquarters and entered the office of the Armed Police political commissar Li Zhenjun [2621 2182 6571].

"Comrade Li Zhenjun, judging from your accent, I would suppose that you are a southerner."

"That's right. I'm from Fenghuang County in Hunan."

We learned from our conversation that Li Zhenjun is an old soldier. In February 1937 at age 17 he joined the CPC and in September of the same year enlisted in the army. Afterwards he entered the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College and experienced terrible dangers on the front line as he fought in both north and south. His 48 years of military life have given him a rich experience in military leadership. No wonder that when he spoke of his life in the ranks it sounded as if he were discussing his family treasures.

"What is special about the Armed Police Force? How is it different from the PLA?" Li Zhenjun said: "I recall that Marshal Yang Dezhi [2799 1799 1807] explained it well in a talk: 'The Armed Police force and the PLA are brothers.' They are both armed forces of the state but they have a division of labor. The PLA is responsible for the exterior. The Armed Police is responsible for internal security. When compared with the PLA the Armed Police has special characteristics, for example, the military character of its organization and the public-safety nature, of its task. Thus working in accordance to specific policies and having a timely response are extremely important. For this reason as well, the Armed Police Force is highly dispersed. It covers the entire nation, both north and south of the Yangtze, both behind and outside the Great Wall, from the interior to the borders and on the sea as well as in the air. The Armed Police is in populated areas; it is also in unpopulated areas. Taking another example, the PLA 'trains the army for 1,000 days for use in 1 hour' but the Armed Police 'trains the army for 1,000 days and uses its troops for 1,000 days.' The Armed Police is ready to fight at any time and is carrying out its

work at every moment. These are the principal characteristics of the Armed Police."

"Under what circumstances was the Armed Police organized? What work did it do after it was formed?"

Li Zhenjun slowly swallowed a mouthful of tea and answered: "The Armed Police was formally organized in the spring of 1983. At that time the central leadership, the State Council, the Military Affairs Committee of the Central Committee and the Political and Legal Affairs Committee took a very keen interest in it. Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Ye Jianying and other leading comrades issued clear directives on its nature, duties, goals, authorized strength and organization. As a result these troops have had a clear purpose since their formation. Li Xiannian, Peng Zhen, Deng Yingzhao, Nie Rongzhen, Wang Zhen and Yang Shangkun wrote out inscriptions at the time of its formation to encourage the Armed Police to create a new situation and become an enduring and secure Great Wall for China."

Li Zhenjun said excitedly: "All the officers and men of the Armed Police are proud that the central leadership has this kind of concern for us. As the leader of this force, I feel a great responsibility to lead it well."

He continued: "In the 2 years since the Armed Police was organized we have stressed building the organization in the cadres and in the ranks at the level of the unit. We are developing logistics. Up to the present we have formed 29 divisions, 564 regiments and 1,029 battalions. Almost all the leading groups of every level of unit have been assigned. In addition, three schools directly under the Armed Police have been established to train cadres of the regimental level and above along with a fairly large number of university-trained grassroots cadres and technicians. Last year these school graduated 642 students. Thirty-three basic-level officer-training schools have also been established. One medical school and one school of boats and ships have been established. Eighteen of these schools recruited more than 5,000 students last year.

"In carrying out the anti-crime campaign this force, besides accepting responsibility for the custody of more prisoners, assigned more than 1.1 million man-hours of soldiers in order to meet the needs of the anti-crime campaigns of the public safety organs for searches, arrests and punishment. Moreover, it carried out relatively well safety inspections at airports and at land, sea and air border checkpoints. It also carried out its tasks of inspection and control of vessels in foreign commerce and of other means of transportation. In the process of strengthening its control of the borders it arrested 215 spies and confiscated 780 smuggler's boats and contraband worth 42.9 million yuan. The fire brigade also carried out relatively well its task of fire prevention. The number of fires and economic losses from fire compared to the same period of 1983 declined by 9.2 and 21.9 percent."

Li Zhenjun said happily: "Especially worth pointing out is that we have very extensively developed the 'be first to do something or to come up



with a new idea.' Over the past 2 years a great number of advanced collectives and individuals have appeared. More than 10,490 collectives received merit awards, 12 collectives received honorary titles, 53 people received first-class honors and 313 people received second class honors. Thirty people received honorary titles. One of these, the Shatoujaio Model Company was given the honorary title 'Red Flag Unit' by the regimental central leaders. It became one of the four models of the entire nation."

Commissar Li Zhenjun told me a short story about the life of Armed Police Force soldiers.

"Have you ever heard the story about sending a representative to see the moonlight? It sounds funny since we see the moon all the time. What's so special about it? But for one of our Armed Police units defending the high Chong Mountains year in and year out the mountain peaks block out much of the sky. They barely see the moon just a few times a year. One year on the evening of 15 August the soldiers were thinking about their loved ones. The loved ones they wanted so much to see were looking up at that bright moon. But they would be able to see that blessed sight only if they left their positions and climbed up to the peak. Their responsibilities were heavy. They could send just one representative to the mountaintop. Who would go? Everyone nominated others and declined the honor for themselves. Finally they decided to send their squad leader. When the squad leader climbed to the blue mountaintop and saw a bright moon his excitement could be imagined. After he came down he told the entire squad about the mid-autumn moon scene he had beheld so that his comrades could share in his happiness."

"Many Armed Police soldiers in carrying out their duties display a spirit of fearless self-sacrifice. There is a soldier in the fireworks display unit of the Beijing Division, who while carrying out his duties on the 35th anniversary of the founding of the country, saw a fiery shell fall down from the sky among the fireworks shells. Braving the wide smoke to prevent a big accident the soldier charged forward. He used his body to smother the burning fireworks shell...."

Li Zhenjun got more excited as he spoke. His eyes were shining. "I feel proud that our Armed Police has such a lovable soldier."

We were fascinated by Li Zhenjun's tales. Lovable as that soldier is, he is still not the most lovable man of the new period!

Li Zhenjun gave us an excited glance, concluding: "In the 2 years since the Armed Police was formally established I can say this: We have basically completed the glorious task the party and people gave to us."

"Comrade Commissar, can you tell us something of the future trends of development, the goals and the plans of the Armed Force?"

Li Zhenjun said frankly: "Yes, I can. Comrade Deng Xiaoping once said: 'A military unit must preserve discipline and must have ideals.' Henceforth

we will be conscientiously carrying out that directive. We will strive to make the Armed Police Force an idealistic, disciplined and distinctively Chinese force."

"Constructing a distinctively Chinese Armed Police Force may not be an easy task. In order to achieve this goal we will have to attack the problem from several angles. That I think I can call our plan."

Li Zhenjun spoke clearly and sincerely without pausing. He said that the Armed Police Force is an armed force of the party and of the state. The general policy of the force is to follow strictly the unified leadership of the Central Military Committee. It must also resolutely accept the leadership of the public safety department. These are two points we insist on. Moreover, we aim at serving the people. This too we insist on.

Accordingly, we must work energetically on these points:

- Depending upon the nature of the Armed Police Force unit, establish uniform regulations and insist upon the separation of different levels of leadership. Do not practice vertical leadership.
- Strengthen the construction of the leading bodies. Emphasize the training of cadres. Make sure that the cadres and the ranks have a rational age and intellectual structure. Make sure that there is rational coordination between the army cadres and the public safety cadres.
- Insist on the general policy of "governing the police strictly," make strict demands, manage strictly and train strictly. Assign special weapons and carry out special training suitable to the particular characteristics of the Armed Police Force. Improve the force's ability to respond rapidly.
- While carrying out professional instructions of the troops on the army and the government, instruct them also in the knowledge of law and of public safety that they will need professionally. Make every cadre and every soldier a model in understanding the law, keeping the law, carrying out the law and in protecting the law.
- Energetically develop activities to build relations between the people, the police and the army. Draw closer the ties between the police and the army and between the police and the government. Make the police force trusted, loved and respected by the people.

Commissar Li Zhenjun told me that this force has not been organized for very long. There are still many difficulties we have yet to overcome. I am certain, however, that since above us we have the leadership of the party's central leadership, the Central Military Committee and the party organization of the public safety department while below us we have the efforts of the broad masses of the cadres and soldiers of the Armed Police Force, we will certainly do a good job constructing this force.

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CSO: 4005/1401

TAIWAN

## TWO ARTICLES ON POLITICIAN KUAN CHUNG

### Background and Propsects

Taipei YA-CHOU-JEN [THE ASIAN WEEKLY] in Chinese No 21, 21-27 Jun 85 pp 4-6

[Article by Chiang Liang-jen [5592 5328 0117]: "Kuan Chung, the 'Pacification Commander'"]

[Text] Kuan Chung Was Trained in the Social Sciences and Democratic Politics of the West, But, Faced With the Burdens of History and the Power Politics of Reality, If This Idealistic Side of Him Is Not Concealed or Distorted, It Will Snap Back and Turn Into His Weapon of Self-Defense. This Is the Contradiction of Kuan Chung.

Kuan Chung [7070 0022] is a typical scholar-turned-politician, but what he does is what he is like. When he was a professor he was a very good one. Now he is a party worker, and it is as if he was born to be one and had an innate talent for this kind of work. He is a person who is able to make everything clear.

Some people attribute the way he is today to his good family background. Actually, compared to Sung Ch'u-yu [1345 2806 3842], Ch'en Lu-an [7115 1462 1344], and Cheng Hsing-hsiun [6774 1800 7160], his background does not amount to much. His father, Kuan Ta-ch'eng [7070 1129 2052], was a member of the Legislative Yuan. After Kuan Ta-ch'eng came to Taiwan he was quite down on his luck; although he later made a lot of money in business, he never made any mark in politics. His father-in-law, Chang Kuo-ying [1728 0948 5391], although now vice minister of national defense, is not a real power figure in the military. When Kung Chung was in school he had an unhappy family life, which had a considerable effect on his rebellious nature. He became somewhat of a juvenile delinquent, but that was only in his early youth. It is not true, as rumor would have it, that he was a member of the Four Seas Gang or took part in the extraordinarily brave acts of the Moral Endeavor Class.

There was really nothing special about his early youth. His schoolwork was not particularly good, but his behavior was not too bad. It was just that his character was somewhat in the Shanghai style: vigorous and unrestrained, full of the spirit of justice, and good at making friends. He is like that to this day. He has hewed out his own path in life in part by depending on the conjunction of causes and in part by depending on his own actions.

Kuan Chung is now applying the advertising and selling tactics of the Western world's marketplace culture to the semifeudal, semirevolutionary KMT. It is as if a modern flush toilet had been installed in the burial chamber of the ancient Lin An-ta'i, and beautiful wallpaper from New York had been hung up around the toilet: it would look very strange and to use it would be extremely out of place.

This is the contradiction facing Kuan Chung. He has been trained in the social sciences of the West, and intellectually he should be fairly clear about the democratic political theories of the West. He should and does have a fairly idealistic side, but, faced with the burdens of history and the power politics of reality, if this idealistic side is not concealed or kept under control, it will turn against itself and become his weapon of self-defense.

Kuan Chung's True Baptism in Politics Was His Work in Making Connections Outside the Party.

Kuan Chung got involved in politics after diplomatic relations between the Republic of China and the United States of America were broken off. The KMT set up four work groups, and he joined the political group for which Ch'en Lu'an was responsible. He was transferred from the Youth and Workers Association to be the deputy chief secretary of the political group responsible for the work of coordinating connections between those in the party and those outside it. At this time he came into contact with some sensitive matters. He did his best to make up for his lack of experience in practical politics. At a time when the KMT was trying to improve its image, it made use of his reputation as a pure, enlightened scholar. He was sent everywhere, and he skilfully handled some delicate problems concerning Chang Hsien-tung [1728 6343 2639], Ch'iu Lien-hui [6726 6647 6540], Yang Ta [2799 6671], Chuang Wen-hua [5445 2429 2901], and Ch'ang Lao-hui [7022 5071 2585]. For example, he and the principal member of the KMT headquarters in Taichung City attended Yang Ta's birthday celebration. Ch'en Lu-an also personally went to Taiwan Theological College and delivered a lecture. All of this cleared the air in an imperceptible fashion. However, Kuan Chung's true baptism in politics came afterward, when he worked on connections outside the party. At that time there were frequent activities outside the party, and through Liang Su-jung [4731 5121 2051], Huang Yueh-ch'in [7806 6390 2953], Wu San-lien [0702 0005 6647], K'ang Ning-hsiang [1660 1340 4382], and Ch'en Chu [7115 5468], he came in contact with nonparty figures. At that time the momentum of those outside the party was at its peak. Kuan Chung was shuttling back and forth everywhere, canvassing support. He was positioned in between the liberals outside the party and the conservatives inside the party, and was neither side's man. Those outside the party felt that he wanted them, and he felt that he was wanted by them. Each side had the feeling that the other side was playing with it. After the Kaohsiung Incident, he was in close contact with the family members of the men who had been punished by law. He learned a lot about the contradictions among the families, their motives for entering politics, and various kinds of confidential matters. These materials then became an effective tool of the KMT's for dividing those outside the party. And from this he got a clear picture of the ins and outs of those outside the party. Afterward, his attitude toward the nonparty forces, including his



reaction to the collective resignation of the provincial assemblymen, bordered on discrimination and disparagement.

His Experiment in Making Contacts With the Nonparty Forces Made Him Feel More Deeply the Importance of Military Spies, and He Realized the Necessity of Manipulating and Controlling the Masses.

Moreover, his experiment in making contacts with nonparty forces made him feel more deeply the importance of military spies. When facing grassroots personages who were surging forward and whose ambition was as high as a rainbow, he could not avoid a guilty conscience, because he felt more deeply the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, and came to realize even more the necessity for manipulation and control of mass psychology.

He was transferred from the post of deputy secretary general to the post of principal member of the city's party headquarters. When he became a special party worker, he had already cast off his old self. From having an image of an enlightened scholar who had entered politics, he turned into an armor-clad supreme commander facing the enemy. A scholar discourses on rights and wrongs; a general can only discourse on merits and demerits, and there is no need for him to fuss about ideals and about right and wrong. If he is defeated the first time, then he can win a big victory the second time. Kuang Chung came to know social psychology thoroughly and to realize the formidability of the ideas of advertising and selling. He completely abandoned the posture of a scholar. He took his pleasures with the people. Pandering to necessity, he identified himself with any form of coarse, noisy carousing. He threw himself into this activity with all his might. Every night he returned home dead drunk. He penetrated deep into each stratum of society and gathered various kinds of intelligence materials. For everything he had a well-thought-out plan. Before an election he would calculate the number of votes and where they would go, and his calculations were quite accurate. He had ways of deducting and adding votes as necessary. To win an election, he "beautified the golden ox," employing the most simple and sincere language to beautify every person he wanted nominated.

In the provincial party headquarters, he is now doing vivid and dramatic work in written propaganda. With his cover-up methods and make-up artistry the KMT is made out to be a democratic party that has suffered enough from compromises and only wants to engage in fair competition. Actually, a person with a discerning eye, from the experience of Ts'ai Ch'en-yuan [5591 6591 3220], can see through these cover-up methods, and from the Chiang Nan [Henry Liu] case can discount the KMT's compromises as worthless. His party headquarters can, without limit, hand out gratis this kind of propaganda, but we know how the KMT has monopolized political resources, and from the activities of political parties and other organizations we know that there is not the slightest chance that elections will be fair.

Kuan Chung Is the KMT's Commanding Officer for Dealing With Forces Outside the Party. Of All Who Have Held the Post of Party Headquarters Director, No One Understands the Forces Outside the Party Better Than He Does. He Has Been Made the Commanding Officer in Charge of Pacifying the Forces Outside the Party.



Kuan Chung has friends in all circles, and has now already formed "connection to the party." He is fully aware that he is a talent seldom seen in mass movements within the party, which is bound to sedulously protect such a "rare piece of goods." No matter whether he wins or loses this election, the "connections to the party" know that after 5 years the KMT must depend on them to safeguard its political power.

Kuan Chung is now the KMT's commanding officer for dealing with forces outside the party, and of all those who have held the post of director of the provincial party headquarters no one has ever understood the forces outside the party as he does. He has been made the commanding officer in charge of pacifying the forces outside the party.

If he comes to power, he will certainly strengthen the forces of control and manipulation, which, if not balanced off from the outside, will tend toward dictatorship and totalitarian rule. From Kuan Chung's present actions, it cannot be seen whether he has any sympathy or belief in democratic politics. All that can be seen is that he has undue belief in the techniques of social control. Such being the case, Kuan Chung is not only the strong opponent of forces outside the party today, but will also be an obstacle in the path of Taiwan's democracy in the future.

If the intelligent Kuan Chung wants to have long-term prospects, he should know which fork in the road to choose.

#### His Propaganda Tactics

Taipei YA-CHOU-JEN [THE ASIAN WEEKLY] in Chinese No 21, 21-27 Jun 84 pp 7-9

[Article by Wu Li-liang [0702 4539 6745]: "Soft-selling Himself While Attacking Non-KMT Forces Hard--Perspective on Tactics of Kuan Chung's Written Propaganda"]

[Text] On the one hand, Kuan Chung Goes All Out To Introduce the Ideas and Practices of Commercial Selling; On the Other Hand He Employs Brutal Measures in Going All Out To Attack and Abuse Forces Outside the Kuomintang.

Recently, when discussing election campaign propaganda, Sung Shih-hsuan [1345 2514 6693], head of the KMT's Federation of Labor Unions, said: "My consistent position is to sell myself but not harm others." As for Kuan Chung [7070 0022], chief of the KMT's provincial party headquarters, only half of this formulation is apt. Kuan Chung's consistent practice is: Sell myself, but even more harm others.

Kuan Chung is a new type of party officer in the KMT. The purpose of all his actions in the party headquarters of Taipei City and Taiwan Province is not only to win election battles but also to have "frequent elections." To win elections he does two things simultaneously. On the one hand, he goes all out to introduce the ideas and practices of commercial selling and to promote sales work; on the other hand, he goes all out to attack non-KMT forces, and in doing stops at nothing. When selling himself, he uses the most gentle

sales techniques; when attacking non-KMT forces, he uses the most brutal means of abuse.

Among all those who have ever been responsible persons in the KMT's local party headquarters, Kuan Chung is the one who has paid most attention to written propaganda. He has said: "Propaganda work will be the key to deciding the success or failure of a political task." After he took charge of the provincial party headquarters, in order to do good written propaganda work he immediately cooked up a combination of sales experts, well-known television personalities, figures in academic circles, as well as party workers at all levels. With them he set up a special investigative group codenamed "XYZ." Its principal mission is to analyze elections situations and trends in non-KMT forces, and to provide guidance for propaganda publications, various types of theatrical posters, and propaganda materials, seeing that they take the initiative to go on the attack. He has also organized in succession a number of "gong and drum corps," with the slogan "Beat the gongs and drums in unison to boost our party's prestige." He has enrolled and trained written propaganda cadres and has a reserve of trained roving propagandists. He has invited people to be lecturers, from scholarly experts to Chang Hsiao-yen [1728 1420 3601] to Wu Le-t'ien [0702 2867 1131], the expert teller of stories in the Taiwanese language. He has also churned out a large number of beautiful propaganda materials, the contents of which contain "both hard and soft tactics"--soft propaganda for ourselves and hard attacks for non-KMT forces.

Kuan Chung has repeatedly stressed the benefits to written propaganda of the ideas of selling. In the tone of an advertising man, he said: "In the elections of today we can no longer stick to conventions. The party headquarters should break through the propaganda tactics of the past and mold a new party headquarters. The candidate should attach importance to the ideas of selling. After really understanding the behavior of the consumer (voter), the candidate should, through organized coordinated actions, make good use of the new ideas in political selling. This means vigorously promoting these ideas, finding the 'target market,' going all out to open up the sources of votes, and striving for victory."

Kuan Chung's Idea of Selling and the Theory of the Great Master of Psychology, Skinner, Coincide, Both of Them Intentionally Making the Manipulation of Human Behavior Their Starting Point and Both of Them Having Totalitarian Tendencies.

With regard to this idea of "market guidance" propaganda, without glossing over it in the slightest, he said: "Its basic principle is to see how someone makes advertisements to sell his products, that is, in ordinary times with indirect and circuitous ways he guides your thinking, causing you to form an impression of continuity, which when you must make a decision will help you make it."

On the surface, this idea looks to be an advertising expert's formulation, but in fact it coincides with the theory of the great master of psychology, Skinner, and it intentionally makes the manipulation of human behavior its starting point.

Skinner's theory is generally acknowledged to have a tendency toward totalitarianism, because it regards a person as a dog in a laboratory. The dog's behavior is molded through manipulation of its conditioned reflexes, so that it can be manipulated by the laboratory experimenter at will. In the eye of a totalitarian, society is a space for manipulation. The totalitarian is a manipulator. By the process of conditioned reflexes and training over a long period of time, behavior patterns that have "continuity" are engendered in people, who then dance to the rhythm beaten out by the totalitarian.

Therefore, Kuan Chung has said: "The most clever propaganda does not make you buy something or do something, but rather gradually leads you on step by step. At ordinary times it inculcates things in your thinking. When you need to make a decision, it will make you have 'strong preconceived ideas.'" These "strong preconceived ideas," as in the case of "maintaining an army for a thousand days to use it for an hour," are "inculcated" in the voters night and day, and mold in them patterns of inertial reaction, so that they are in the palms of the hands of the manipulator. Kuan Chung gives to this process of psychological dominance the fine-sounding name of "guidance," but in reality it is a kind of "control."

Why does he want to "control" people's behavior? Kuan Chung has said: "Propaganda is a very good intermediary in promoting understanding. Through propaganda we can make the public understand our work, and proceed to the next step of making use of them to support us." In fact, the term "making use of" employed by Kuan Chung is the basic goal of his written propaganda, namely, to turn the voter into a tool he can "make use of" so that he will be able to win election battles, and by means of these stepping stones go up to the core of power.

There Is a Celebrated Dictum of Kuan Chung's: "What the Populace Needs Is a Simple Logic, Not a Complex Theory."

There is a celebrated dictum of Kuan Chung's: "What the populace needs is a simple logic, not a complex theory." This sentence fully shows Kuan Chung's attitude as a manipulator. In his eyes the populace is benighted and easily put in the palm of one's hand. Provided one uses simple logical formulas and constantly "inculcates" them in the populace, one can control them with ease and "make use of" them as much as one likes.

Because, from the bottom of his heart, he disparages and underestimates the intellectual capacity of the populace, no matter whether he is making propaganda for the KMT, debating policies, or attacking the non-KMT forces, he always employs "simple logic" and simplifies complex problems. During the process of changing the complex into the simple, he even twists logic in the direction of absolute advantage to the KMT. Any problem or scandal of the populace is cleaned up by a process of filtration, and any policy for which the KMT is castigated is turned into something immaculate without flaws. Any value or contribution made by the non-KMT forces is blotted out at one stroke.

For example, when talking about the question of political linkage, his logic is extremely simple: By linkage is meant changing the prejudices of a minority of people into the opinions of the great majority of people; it absolutely

does not mean to regard the prejudices of the minority of people as the opinions of the great majority of people. Over and over again he has stressed that at present the KMT holds the absolute majority of seats in the legislative assemblies at all levels. The meaning behind Kuan Chung's words is simply: the minority should submit to the majority, and what is called "linkage" means the minority's acceptance of the KMT's positions on matters. According to his formulation, linkage means the decisions of the majority and means submitting to the KMT. Similarly, he explains away the problem of the KMT's making no separation between the party and the government by using the idea of majority decision. He has said: "Since China's KMT represents the will of the people, she has the power, within the scope of the law, to decide her own policies and personnel matters. In other words, provided she acts in accordance with the law, she can do anything she thinks she should do." However, the KMT violates the principle of separation of party and government. This is basically an act that exceeds the limits of the law. With the argument that the KMT represents the will of the people, Kuan Chung tries to cover up its use of illegal means in its act of not separating the party and the government. Isn't this really regarding the logic of the masses too simply?!

Kuan Chung Applies the Principles of Simple Logic To Attack Non-KMT Forces, To Simplify Problems, and Even To Twist Them in the Direction of the Absolute Advantage of the KMT.

His logic is even more simple when speaking of the non-KMT figures. he sums up the attitudes and practices of the non-KMT figures in three points: 1) They make use of the country's difficult plight to seize political individual advantages; 2) they make use of Taiwan's historical background to foment splits; and 3) whether or not their practices would settle everything, they stir up ill feeling between the government and the people by magnifying our administrative shortcomings. Based on this "summation" he has said: "Every time the country suffers an internal or external setback, the non-KMT figures become highly excited, thinking that the opportunity has come to go all out in their actions."

With this kind of "simple logic," in which no opening is given to the people's intelligence and consultations with them are sealed off, the populace either will know nothing about the affairs of the world or will be given a "strongly perceived idea," and will be hostile to and detest non-KMT forces. During the years that the mainland's Bamboo Curtain was tightly closed and the Chinese Communists completely blocked the passage of information, the KMT did anything it wanted to create in the populace the consciousness of "hating the bandits," and the general populace believed this without the slightest reservation. However, after restrictions are lifted on consultations, how can the logic of the populace be as simple as this?

To defame the non-KMT forces, Kuan Chung constantly chops logic. For example, he says about the non-KMT forces: They only express their opinions on the level of their individual interests; they never talk about "love of country," but only love of their relatives, friends, and themselves; the whole world has affirmed the successes in Taiwan of China's KMT, and only the non-KMT forces have completely negated them; and the communist bandits use the united front



to collude with our internal seditionists, in the expectation that they will rise up some day and bring Taiwan under the communist tyranny.

The basic pattern in Kuan Chung's written propaganda tricks is to explain the phenomena with this simple logic in order to attain his goal of "making use of" the populace.

Among KMT officers, Kuan Chung is regarded as a man with fairly high academic attainments and with a fairly profound understanding of the characteristics of modern society. However, his academic attainments are employed for political trickery. The purpose of his every action is to manipulate the voters so that he wins election battles, thereby making capital for his promotion in the KMT because of meritorious services. In his actions to attain his goal of individual promotion and to make the populace a tool in the palm of his hand, isn't Kuan Chung behaving precisely like the non-KMT forces whom he criticized as acting "only on the level of individual interests"? In the final analysis, who is seeking advantage for the individual? Who is playing "modernized" tricks?

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HUAN XIANG'S INTERVIEW ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES VIEWED

Hong Kong CHENG MING [CONTENDING] in Chinese No 83, Jul 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Meng Yu [1322 6662]: "On Huan Xiang's Answers to Reporters' Questions"]

[Text] On 21 June, at a luncheon given by the Beijing branch of the All-China Journalists Association, Huan Xiang [1360 6763], in the format of answering reporters' questions, discussed several major issues in China's present diplomatic policy. From a look at the full text of the questions and answers published by the Hong Kong newspaper WEN HUI PAO, this was an extremely important statement made by Huan Xiang. Huan Xiang's post is "director of the International Studies Center of the State Council." In reality, he is not only the number one foreign affairs adviser in the high-level brain trust of Deng Xiaoping's system, but also at times expresses important opinions on internal affairs. Last year when several senior mainland scholars headed by him went abroad to explain the policy of "one country with two systems," he put forward the theory of China's "three-tier economic pattern," namely, that the socialist economy, the special zone economy, and the capitalist economy can coexist for a long period of time.

Since last year it has seemed that Huan Xiang has had an important article published at every period of time. One example is his recent answers to reporters' questions. His status was that of a scholar, but his talk was completely in the tone of an official, and in everything he said he showed that his position was authoritative. In fact, as early as the fifties, when he was charge d'affaires in Britain with the rank of minister, an article of his analyzing the political situation in the West was highly appreciated by Mao Zedong. Today he is the authoritative spokesman for Beijing's diplomatic policy, and there can be no doubt about this fact. Not only could a spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs not expect to attain the weight given to these answers to reporters' questions, but even Hu Yaobang's answers to reporters' questions last month pale by comparison.

Huan Xiang revealed some new trends, and it also should be admitted that what he said showed the optimum standard of official answers. At the same time we highly admire the dedication to their jobs of the foreign reporters stationed in Beijing. The incisive way they put questions and the way the questions hit on crucial points must really make our compatriots, who claim to dare to speak out, gasp in admiration.

Huan Xiang discussed three major issues: the Khmer Rouge, the policy toward Taiwan, and Sino-Soviet relations.

#### Sophistry in Defense of Pol Pot's Crimes

On the Kampuchean issue, the reporters specially asked Huan Xiang: Was Pol Pot recently in China? This question could be related to the reports in two consecutive issues of the monthly CHENG MING that Pol Pot was in Beijing being cured of an illness. The WEN HUI PAO reporter added the comment: "Magazines recently disclosed that Pol Pot had come to China on a visit."

Huan Xiang's answer was very interesting: "No."

I say it is interesting because this simple answer was out of harmony with the whole tenor of his answers. On the other questions, Huan Xiang seemed quite patient. He spoke in an orderly and clear fashion, made his own paragraphs, and did not in the slightest degree dodge a question. If Pol Pot was really in Beijing, we certainly may support that Huan Xiang would have an explanation. For example, he could cite it as the type of information that comes out of Thailand and deny its truth. Or he could say, "This is a cooked-up story that is being spread around." However, he said only one word: No [printed in English]. Based on the Chinese communists' past record of telling lies, if we are unwilling to be somebody else's mouthpiece we decidedly must boldly come to the conclusion: Huan Xiang "has settled this case" and Mr Pol was not in China. (of course, he could have recovered his health and returned to the battlefield to attack the aggressors.)

Huan Xiang is very good at making justifications for Pol Pot. A reporter asked: Since the Pol Pot regime has committed many cruel crimes, why does China still support it? Huan Xiang said: China supports the "tripartite forces resisting Vietnam," not a certain individual. He added: You cannot say that the mistake of a certain political party are the mistakes of a certain individual. Since this party has already admitted its mistakes, it should be given support. Without the slightest politeness, the reporter pursued his questioning: For their mistakes Pol Pot and his party should have been brought to public trial long ago and recieved the death sentence. It is precisely because of China's support that "their life is prolonged." ... Huan Xiang adopted Deng Xiaoping's tactic in answering the same question put by Fallaci by denying the serious nature of the Khmer Rouge's crimes. He said that the "harm" (please note this word!) done by the Khmer Rouge "had been exaggerated by people abroad." He further defended the Khmer Rouge by saying: The Khmer Rouge forces resisting Vietnam in a few years have increased in number from 25,000 to 65,000," which shows that the people support the Khmer Rouge. Huan Xiang is quite skilled in traditional revolutionary dialectics.

What is shown by the fact that, in a country with a population of several million, the forces resisting Vietnam have increased to several tens of thousands of people? According to many reports, it is precisely because the brutality of the Khmer Rouge is not justified by the people that the pro-Vietnam forces have become stable and strong. Just as in their series of mistakes in foreign affairs in the past, the Chinese communists cannot extricate themselves from their policy toward Kampuchea. They never ask

themselves: Why do we not hear about support for the Khmer Rouge from public opinion abroad? Clinging obstinately to one's course, being opinionated, and rigidly insisting on saving face--these legacies of Mao's are all retained in their policy toward Kampuchea.

As everyone knows, the emergence of contradictions between China and Vietnam was related in large measure to China's policies toward the Soviet Union and America, and its policy toward the Khmer Rouge stems from its need to oppose Vietnam. For China, the Kampuchean question is the smallest link in the chain Soviet Union-Vietnam-Kampuchea. China does not keep the whole chain in mind. It seeks detente with the big country, the Soviet Union, and takes a hard line with the small country, Vietnam. What will be the result of these two tactics?

Another point that should be made is that the Chinese communists' defense of Pol Pot is similar to their defense of Mao, and is linked to it. Not the slightest basis in law or democracy can be found for these defenses. There is only a political need (to cover up responsibility for crimes). It is the same trick. If any ordinary person commits a mistake he is held responsible; if the leader commits a mistake the party is held responsible.

#### Breakthrough Discussion of Threat Against Taiwan

The policy toward Taiwan was another big issue discussed by Huan Xiang. The degree of his frankness in discussing the use of force against Taiwan exceeded that of Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang, Han Xu [7281 0650], and Li Shenzhi [2621 1957 0037], all of whom had once talked quite a lot about using force against Taiwan.

Huan Xiang's breakthrough was that he admitted that the use of force against Taiwan "is both a threat and not a threat." He put forward a specific time limit by saying, "If within 20 or 30 years, a peaceful reunification still cannot be brought about, then we must consider the use of other ways to reunify the motherland."

This is a shocking position to take, because Deng and Hu only talked about the military possibility of blockading and attacking Taiwan. Li Shenzhi also only proposed the conditions under which the time would be ripe for using force, and he did not set a time limit without any conditions. What Huan Xiang said can only show that what the higher level of the Chinese communists have in mind is this: When the time comes, no matter what you, Taiwan, are like, we will wipe you out. In other words, at the most there will be no change for 30 years. Nobody is so naive as to think that this does not mean that the Chinese communists will not attack and occupy Taiwan in pursuit of their policy of one country with two systems.

When talking about a change in the Taipei regime, Huan Xiang predicted that this question would be resolved within 5 years. If, he said, "Taiwan seeks independence" or "becomes an ally of the Soviet Union's," this would be "intolerable" and only the form and time of "armed intervention" would be unknown.

It looks as if this is Beijing's "commanding height" for carrying out its "deterrent" offensive against Taiwan. It is hard to imagine that the Beijing authorities will make a stronger statement than that of Huan Xiang.

Many people, including many open or semi-open pro-Beijing figures have time and again advised China's decision makers to not be anxious for reunification, and to not use military force and not make military threats would be advantageous for reunification. Why have the rulers in Zhongnanhai not heeded these well-intentioned pieces of advice, but have for several months constantly escalated their threats in public discussion?

Huan Xiang seems to have provided some explanations on this point. He told the reporters that in China's modern history the first humiliation was Hong Kong, from which time China "entered into a history of humiliation that has lasted more than 140 years." The second humiliation, he said, was Taiwan, "which was occupied by Japan's armed forces." Huan Xiang declared: "The wish of the entire Chinese nation is to wipe out this history of humiliation by reunifying the motherland."

What impassioned talk! This is the most penetrating "annotation" made by the authoritative theoreticians of the Chinese communists on the subject of the "motherland's reunification." Perhaps Huan Xiang said what the Chinese communist bosses considered inappropriate for them to say. This is because, in examining the public expressions of opinion on reunification by them, from Deng Xiaoping to Deng Yingchao [6772 4481 6389], there has never been any implication of "taking revenge to wipe out humiliations." On the contrary, they have stressed "respect for history, respect for reality, fairness and reasonableness."

Assuming the posture of a plenipotentiary, Huan Xiang expressed gratitude to the British people who had helped China to wipe out a national humiliation: "We were very happy to see that the British government and public, with great wisdom and courage, and with sympathy for the aspirations of the Chinese nation, change their policy, so that a satisfactory solution of the Hong Kong problem was obtained." He expressed a "similar hope" that a solution to the Taiwan problem would be obtained.

One may ask: Of course it may be said that Hong Kong is to be taken back from the hands of the colonialists. But is Taiwan now occupied by Japan? Must the Taiwan authorities and the Chinese communists cooperate in wiping out another humiliation?

On this point, Huan Xiang talked glibly and beside the point about "blood being thicker than water." If Taiwan also wants reunification, what "water" is there?

The crux of the question of the reunification of the mainland and Taiwan is clearly a political and economic problem and not a national problem. But Huan Xiang stubbornly makes the crux out to be "national humiliation." Even on the Hong Kong problem, the whole process of the Sino-British talks fully showed that the crux was not simply "recovering lost territory." On one point Huan Xiang is correct: he only expressed gratitude to the British government and



public, and said not a word about the Hong Kong people. They know that thousands upon thousands of people on the mainland are lining up and waiting to come to Hong Kong, and after making preparations, those at the front of the line will escape from this "paradise."

How can the Chinese communist authorities only have a sense of history and not a sense of reality? Perhaps they are falling in with the excellent plan of a certain adviser and think that now is the best time to apply additional pressure to the Taiwan authorities. However, the Chinese communist leaders, who keep on talking about the weight they give to the nation's righteous cause, after abandoning the slogan of liberating Taiwan, give as the reason for reuniting the mainland and Taiwan the wiping out of the humiliation of the Japanese occupation. They want to use force against the 18 million Taiwan people, who are unwilling to bow their heads in submission and concede defeat. Is this, after all, reunification or subjugation? Do they want the support of the people or not?

### "Independence At All Costs"

During Huan Xiang's answers to reporters' questions, the third issue worthy of note was Sino-Soviet relations. But there were no new ideas in his answers, and we need not comment on them. He only wanted to talk about an absolute principle that he brought up: "China wants independence no matter what the cost."

What is "independence?" There can, of course, be many interpretations of it. In the Mao Zedong era there were also shouts about independence. America was opposed and the Soviet Union was opposed; imperialism was opposed and revisionism was opposed. In the end, independence meant that enemies were made on all sides, only our independence was respected, and foreign affairs were in a complete mess. Suddenly, on a certain day, Mao hit upon a stratagem. He decided it would be best to ask Nixon to come to China for a chat, and incidentally let him see the towering Forbidden City. Thereupon, the gate to the West was opened. This policy of opening to the West, which was followed by his successors, has now been intensified. Haven't the benefits to the common people, as a result, been a delight?

Yes, Mao's independence was achieved no matter what the cost, and for the independence asserted by Huan Xiang a price, of course, must also be paid. The Chinese communist leaders are now paying the price, but they don't care.

Actually, strictly speaking, absolute independence does not exist. Aligned countries are not necessarily not independent, and nonaligned countries, if they depend on others in everything, are not necessarily independent. Interdependence for mutual benefit is an objective law of modern international society. Mao Zedong's "independence" linked together an external policy of closing the country to international intercourse and an internal policy of exercising feudal dictatorship. The independence emphasized by a political party, in which state power is centralized, will by no means bring more benefits to the people. Independence only has a positive meaning relative to a backward reactionary external force.



Huan Xiang's answers to reporters' questions, just as the WEN HUI PAO editor noted, "have considerable reference value." They not only let us see the strong indication of the party in power in China toward certain bad old practices that die hard, but also let us see the train of thought and aspirations of Chinese communist scholars. No matter how they try, they cannot conceal their true character as vassals of a group of irrational rulers.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

WANG RUOWANG ON CHINA'S POLITICAL SITUATION

Hong Kong CHING PAO [THE MIRROR] in Chinese No 8, Aug 85 pp 8-11

[Interview with Wang Ruowang, president of Shanghai Writers' Association, in Shanghai, by Lin Wen [2651 2429]: "The Current Line Is Expected To Prevail After Deng Xiaoping Passes Away"; date of interview not given]

[Text] Why the constant shifts in course? What will happen when Deng Xiaoping passes away? When Hu Yaobang takes over control of the Military Commission, will the armed forces make trouble? What are the secret worries of the third echelon? Why has the judiciary been unable to assert its independence? What do the ups and downs in the world of literature and art tell us?

On 20 June, I sought an interview with Wang Ruowang [3769 5387 2598] through the Xinhua News Agency in Shanghai and was promptly given a positive reply. Currently principal of the Zhonghua School of Arts for Youth and a board member of both the Chinese Writers' Association and Shanghai Writers' Association, Wang Ruowang has been praised at home and overseas for his many "candid" and "well-reasoned" articles which have appeared in the press in recent years. He has lately completed a biographical novel entitled "I Feel Good About Myself." He said, "That's what life is all about. Without it, I would have jumped off a six-story building long time ago." Friends say that Wang Ruowang is open-minded and a good conversationalist; once he opens his mouth, he never stops. Still I was prepared for the eventuality that he might want to hold his tongue on certain sensitive questions, in which case I would confine myself to artistic and literary questions. When we met, scarcely had I conveyed the purpose of my visit before he cut in, "I am relatively outspoken." So I grabbed every precious minute (because of other activities, the interview was limited to one hour,) and asked him bluntly about his views on some sensitive questions concerning China's political scene.

Why the Constant Shifts In Course?

Question: There have been significant changes since the mainland opened itself to the world and launched reforms. But the impression China gave the world in these past few years has been one of constant and sudden shifts in course. Things were liberalized one moment only to be tightened the next. The political situation does not seem very stable and the resistance to changes

appears quite strong. What do you think is responsible for this? Will there be a sharp aboutface?

Answer: The instability and vacillations in recent years basically derive from history's pernicious influences, primarily the evil, ultraleftist legacy of the era of the gang of four, which we have not completely eradicated. For example, various fronts have been criticizing ultraleftism, but the cultural and propaganda sectors have refrained from attacking ultraleftist things in recent years, choosing instead to direct their unrelenting fire at so-called bourgeois liberalization, spiritual pollution and so on. As a result, even as economic reforms advance, they are undercut by an incongruous ideology. Second, there is no clear understanding of Mao Zedong's Thought. People still have only a hazy idea as to what is right, what is wrong, what should be kept and what should be discarded, so much so that some of Mao Zedong's mistaken ideas still remain the protective umbrella of blind followers. We must reevaluate and reinterpret his thought, otherwise there can be no progress. Third, culture and education have been retarded for the past 2 or 3 decades. Both cadres and the masses are undereducated and some cadres in power are downright ignorant. This ignorance is the social basis for the persistence of the two phenomena mentioned above. When the masses are ignorant, we can explain it away, but trouble is that many high-ranking cadres are so poorly educated and so lacking in scientific knowledge that they are simply unfit for leadership. Can we blame these elderly comrades who have done so much for the country? No. Frankly, from the historical perspective, they are in fact the victims of some of the slogans of our own Chairman Mao. For instance, all the talk about "the layman leading the expert" has made people complacent about being led by nonexperts, which we came to regard as the right thing to do. "I must lead you all." For many years we were content to do things the old, familiar way, which we learned in the war, and continued to rely on the small scale peasant economy. Some cadres, too proud to admit their ignorance, just grope along blindly. These factors combine with one another to form a barrier to progress.

Looking back at the past 5 or 6 years, we must say China has taken a big stride forward, despite some faltering steps. If you return to China after a few years' absence, you will see that we have been moving ahead at a fairly brisk pace. The reason is that the younger generation demands progress. Many party leaders, too, have at last woken up and learned a lesson from the Cultural Revolution. Consequently, those who wanted to escalate the campaign against spiritual pollution not only did not achieve much but ended up isolating themselves. This shows that there is just no turning back. In one trial of strength after another, the forces of resistance suffer increasingly resounding defeats. This proves that our people and intellectuals are now seasoned enough to distinguish between right and wrong and no longer echo the chants of "Long live ..." As long as the two basic state policies, the open door policy and economic reforms, remain in place, nobody can reverse the flow of history, no matter how powerful he may be.

#### Ultraleftism and the "Two-Whatever" Faction Will Also Pass Away

Question: The impression I got on this trip home is that most people in China, like people overseas, believe that there is little problem so long as Deng

Xiaoping is living. But they are worried that when Deng Xiaoping passes away, his successors such as Hu Yaobang may not be able to control the political situation.

Answer: What we have in China today is still the rule of man, not of law, and political continuity remains tenuous. So it is not surprising that people at home and abroad think the way they do. However, looking at developments in recent years, I believe the impact of Deng Xiaoping's departure will not be all that great since the leading group has basically been established and his line, policies and principles have become the new "orthodoxy." Hu Yaobang has considerable prestige; in the 4 years that he has been in office, he has been attacked many times by both the right and left, but each confrontation left him stronger, not weaker, than before, which testifies to his popularity among the people. The ultraleftists have not laid their hands on Hu Yaobang, but not for lack of trying: they have had several showdowns with him, but in the end the correct line always gained the upper hand. In the past few years, Deng Xiaoping, Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang have laid a fairly solid foundation for China. There are certainly people who want to change all this, but it will not be easy for them given the present basis. Moreover, all those people who want change are in their seventies and eighties, elderly men who are fast losing their teeth. Their days, too, are numbered; time is fair to everybody. As time goes by, these people will be eliminated sooner or later. If Deng Xiaoping must die, so must the old guard of the "two whatevers" faction.

Even now there are people who want to thwart Deng Xiaoping, but they too seem quite powerless. This is because the entire leadership has undergone reforms. The military, for example, was very leftist before, but since the reforms in its leadership last year, it has in fact joined the ranks of those opposed to the anti-spiritual pollution campaign. It can thus be seen that the general trend is towards a healthy direction, instead of taking us down a deadend street. Moreover, the top leadership no longer does things the way things were done in the Mao Zedong era. Last year, for instance, there was an epidemic of bonus-giving and giving in kind. The government later clamped down on it, demanding at first that people who had received a cash bonus or a piece of merchandise turn it in. Scarcely 10 days later, however, it changed its tack -- what is the point of offending so many people? -- and imposed a bonus tax instead. Although the tax must eventually come from the bonus, this move did not arouse the workers' dissatisfaction. It was a wise step, clearly something that would not have happened in the Mao Zedong era. The whole incident shows that in pondering every move, the people now in power take into consideration its popularity or otherwise.

Will the Army Make Trouble When Hu Yaobang Takes Over?

Question: You mentioned the military earlier. Frankly admitting that his standing in the army is no match for Deng Xiaoping's, Hu Yaobang said recently, "In the army, it takes us five words to accomplish what Comrade Deng Xiaoping manages to do with one word." In this light, will the army make trouble when Hu Yaobang takes over?

Answer: I have no authoritative answer to that question, but can only make a few comments about the balance of power. The army has an old tradition: obey



the party. Certainly this tradition is not an unmixed blessing: if the party is what it was in the days of the gang of four, the army will become a destructive force. If the party's line is correct, then the army will not present a major problem. Deng Xiaoping realizes this and wants to step down as chairman of the Military Commission in favor of Hu Yaobang. My personal guess is that if the current line prevails, it is not likely for the army and party to part company. Why not? There used to be some very factious elements in the army. During the Cultural Revolution, they formed their own little cliques in each military region and fought against one another bitterly. Within 2 years (1983, 1984), however, these people were all gone, having been relieved of their military appointments. Today almost every military officer at the middle level and above came from a military academy. I do not think they will split with the party. This is a very important point. Second, an army is shaped by its soldiers. The soldiers today are all young people of the 1980's, not even those of the 1970's. Receptive to the ideological current of the open policy, these young soldiers are even more liberated than their counterparts in administrative units. Thus was removed one destabilizing factor which had the party worry about potential trouble in its own backyard. The situation was most strained in 1982 when there were demands for mass resignations. Actually many officers did not resign -- losing their power would mean losing everything -- and it was in the army where you could hear some of the worst things being said about Deng Xiaoping. In the end, though, the party stood firm and demanded that they step down. As it turned out, their removal was more swift and clear-cut than similar changes in the localities. There the change of personnel was phased in over a transitional period. Not so in the military. It was a revolutionary measure. Given China's circumstances, such a decisive move was both crucial and highly beneficial.

#### The Secret Worry of the "Third Echelon"

Question: In the Chinese context, a smooth succession is the key to political stability. But right now succession is being effected through the "third echelon." Some people think this is potentially very dangerous.

Answer: I openly discussed this question when I addressed the young theoretical workers conference. The trouble with the "third echelon" is, first, its incompatibility with historical developments, and, second, its idealism. The new pioneering types are all people who prove themselves in action; they cannot be found in the office or in the files of a organization. Selection through the "third echelon" cannot but be subjective and is often based on one's narrow outlook and one's own code of behavior in society. One looks for people who are in one's own image. The purpose of this selection method is none other than a desire to perpetuate one's wishes for a century or two after one passes away. To a certain extent, this approach still smacks of Qinshihuangdi's mentality. There are leading cadres who pick nobody except their relatives. Others just look at diplomas and select only college graduates and graduate students. Isn't this subjective idealism? Moreover, you make a person part of the "third echelon," thinking that if he cannot live up to his responsibilities in the future, you can always remove him. In fact, you are burdening the person. Not a very smart thing to do.



Question: What can we do to eliminate the shortcomings of our method of expert selection?

Answer: If we really restructure the economic system in accordance with the "Resolution" of the CPC Central Committee, we will dismantle the "third echelon." The core of economic reforms is the plant director responsibility system and the mayor responsibility system. Should we let the director and mayor "form their own cabinets," some of the people in the "third echelon" will be kicked out. People do contradictory things and do not even know it, but onlookers can see these two approaches must clash head on one day. The idea of separating the party from administration has been put forward earlier. If we follow it through, many things will be better off.

#### The Legal System Cannot Assert Its Independence

Question: Foreign media often comment that political stability in the mainland hinges on the rule of law. If the mainland is really ruled by law, the people of Hong Kong will also have more confidence in "1997." But many practices today are still dominated by man, which makes us feel that the rule of law remains a long way off.

Answer: Many problems are involved here, and it will certainly take a huge effort on our part to resolve them. Ultraleftist habits of the Cultural Revolution era are still with us. One is the tendency to jump on the bandwagon of a political campaign. You stay behind at your own peril. At the slightest signs of a campaign, even lawyers refuse to defend you in court. Second, we like to set up a group to investigate a case, a direct descendant of the "special group" of the Cultural Revolution. Third, there is the tendency to "overreact" when correcting a wrong, which leaves the people totally confused. The hunt for economic criminals, for example, has evolved into a far-reaching crackdown on all kinds of companies and an attack on individuals. In the course of resisting the corrosion of bourgeois ideas, they have been going after all "tabloids" indiscriminately. And now even the children of cadres at the county and regiment levels are explicitly prohibited from going into business: Is going into business necessarily corrupt? Didn't Lenin say that communists should learn how to run a business? All this gives us the sense that old ways die hard. Actually, if we can use the legal approach and bring about the "equality of all before the law" to replace the current practice of "putting senior officials above the law," many problems can be readily solved. Nowadays, more often than not, things are still done in a leftist way, which is not all that surprising since the pernicious influences of history have not been uprooted. I have a kraft paper here, full of rejected manuscripts. Two years ago, anything critical of the ultraleftists, whether long or short articles, was basically a no-no; it was the bland, the muted which was quickly accepted. They advised me to rewrite the stuff. I refused to go along.

It is hard to establish the rule of law when you do not have an independent judiciary. Also, lawyers here have no standing: they are mere adornments and formalities. As long as these two problems are not solved, we cannot begin to talk about the rule of law. Why is there no independent judiciary? From Beijing on down to every prefecture, every county, there is a political and

legal commission, which has a say in everything. Neither the party constitution nor the state constitution confers such power on it. Nevertheless, the heads of the courts, the procuratorate and the public security bureau must all listen to it. Strictly speaking, therefore, this country is still not ruled by law. Earlier, there was a worse problem: different treatments meted out to government cadres and party members who have committed crimes and ordinary criminals. Party members found guilty were not punished other than being expelled from the party. In the process, the law was depreciated. "Senior officials were placed above the law." This is the supreme privilege. I had an article in the July issue of MINZHU YU FAZHI entitled "The Legal System Cannot Assert Its Independence" which pinpoints some weaknesses in China's legal system.

#### Shifts In Literature and Art: What Do They Tell Us?

Question: There has been a dramatic turn in the world of literature and art since the fourth congress of the Chinese Writers' Association. Lately, however, it has run into yet another setback. Is this also a sign of political instability?

Answer: The most signal achievement of the fourth congress of the Writers' Association is that it shunted the most powerful ultraleftists to the sidelines. They were not involved in the preparatory stage and some of them did not attend. The congress was genuinely critical of the left and set free people's thinking. But good things do not last: within a month, the other side staged a comeback and we were forced to retreat on a number of issues. As I see it, this was yet another trial of strength between us and them. But they did not come on as strong as before because since the fourth congress opened the floodgate of creative freedom, nobody can slam it shut again. The counteroffensive in the spring of 1985 failed to deflect us from our general forward direction, although it did manage to make life a little difficult for certain "famous" writers and even decide what books should be published and how many. All this signals a retreat. Yet the fact that books were still published, albeit on a reduced scale, suggests that the other side has weakened. They criticized Liu Binyan's [0491 6333 7159] "The Second Kind of Loyalty" furtively but could not muster enough courage to write a single article openly attacking him, which is yet another sign of their weak position. After the fourth congress of the Writers' Association, theoretical essays have gained new life. Shanghai's two major papers, WENHUI and JIEFANG, of course, still refuse to publish me, but RENMIN RIBAO, which observed a similar ban in the past, does carry my writings now and then these days. This is "a sign of the times" and goes to prove that the old rigidity must go.

Question: Has Hu Yaobang's "8 February" speech also constituted a kind of pressure on the literary and artistic circles?

Answer: By harping on the uniformity of public opinion, Hu Yaobang's speech on journalism has had some highly negative side effects and damaged his image. On the other hand, we appreciate his difficulties. Chinese writers today are more cool-headed, more reflective. They are a formidable group of intellectuals. Without calling a meeting or establishing contacts with one another, they could clearly distinguish between right and wrong and wage their

struggle strategically. In the process of electing their board members, they overthrew those who had been the most vocal elements in the campaign against spiritual pollution. For this very reason, it is no longer possible to muzzle writers as in the past. Rumors have it that Shanghai writers are disunited. Quite wrong. In fact, there are only six or seven ultraleftists; the rest are all opposed to them. For a time, the ultraleftists were quite powerful because they were supported by the two propaganda people in Shanghai at the time, Chen Yi [7115 3085] and Xia Zhenong [1115 1767 6593].

(Note: The text of the interview has not been read by Mr. Wang Ruowang. The writer is responsible for any errors and omissions.)

12581

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

WRITER OF 'DEMOCRACY AND LEGAL SYSTEM' INTERVIEWED

Hong Kong CHING PAO [THE MIRROR] in Chinese No 95, Jul 85 pp 48-50

[Article by Ke Sha [2047 5446]: "Interview With Li Zhengtian"]

[Text] In 1974, because he wrote the big-character poster "Democracy and the Legal System," Li Zhengtian [2621 2973 1131] was locked in prison. In 1979, after his case was redressed and he was released from prison, he became a teacher in the Guangzhou School of Art and devoted himself to education and exploration of philosophy, psychology, and art, I heard that in early summer of this year he would be going on invitation to Huangshan to take part in a national academic symposium. His speech at the symposium drew the interest and attention of those attending it. To find out what new progress this controversial figure had made in his theoretical explorations, we reporters interviewed him in the last part of May.

"Unsatisfactory Son-in-Law"

We found his residence in Building No 18 of the living quarters in the Guangzhou School of Art. In front of the door was a small courtyard surrounded by a bamboo fence in which many plants and flowers had been planted. There were tigerskin orchids, big-leaf green hedge, and bracken. Drying on a bamboo pole were diapers. Coming to open the door was Li's wife, Chen Xiaodan [7115 1420 0030]. The dignified and elegant Mrs Li, with an expression of regret, said with a smile: "Unfortunately he has gone out. Come in and sit down."

We reporters sat in the small drawing room. In it was a piano; next to two walls was a very elegant sofa, which we later learned had been designed by the husband and wife themselves; and on the walls were hung several oil paintings done by our host, among which was an eye-catching work of the abstractionist school that occupied an entire wall. Later our host told us that the title of the painting was "Chopin's Concerto No 1 in E Minor." After it appeared it drew the interest of quite a lot of connoisseurs in China and abroad. The White Swan Hotel collected it to decorate its hall. The painting hanging in the home is a copy of the original. On the tea table in the middle of the small drawing room, our host had put a pot of bracken picked from outside. It gave a touch of exuberant life to the drawing room, which was full of the atmosphere of art.



Drinking tangerine ice water brought in by Mrs Li and playing with their babbling little girl, I asked: "Does Li Zhentian wash diapers?" Mrs Li smiled: "He has. When I take the child to the hospital he washes the diapers." "Can he cook?" "He can cook with an electric cooker, but we eat at the canteen." "What are your parents' impression of him?" "He is an unsatisfactory son-in-law. When they come to our home he always carries books, which they know he will be reading. He doesn't think of helping out by doing something and he doesn't talk with my parents," she said in rebuke.

Chen Xiaodan is a doctor. Her father was once the commander of a military subdistrict, but his daughter admired Li Zhengtian's literary and artistic talent. Disregarding the opposition of her relatives and obstruction from various quarters, she resolutely became united in wedlock with Li. Now she shoulders the responsibilities of taking care of household affairs and bringing up a daughter, and may well be called a dutiful wife and loving mother.

#### Going North, Constantly on the Run, Busy Interchanges

Hearing that Li Zhengtian was being "kept" by a certain publishing house in a hotel with a quiet and elegant environment while he wrote for it, we tracked him down there.

Reporter: I hear that you recently went to Huangshan to attend a meeting. Did you?

Li: Yes, but May 17th was my daughters' first birthday, so at all costs I had to rush back to Guangzhou.

Reporter: How long were you gone? What meeting did you attend?"

Li: I was gone for a month. First I went to Huangshan on invitation to take part in a national academic symposium. At it I delivered an academic report entitled "Anticipated Developments in Our Country's Art." The report aroused interest in relevant quarters. I then accepted a joint invitation from some major art colleges and schools and from relevant units to give lectures at them. I lectured at the Shanghai branch of the All-China Federation of Literature and Art Circles and the Shanghai Drama College. In Beijing I lectured at the Central Fine Arts College, Central Music College, Central Radio and Television University, Lu Xun Academy of Literature, Central College of Industrial and Fine Arts, and Liberation Army Art College. I also lectured at 11 liberal arts, science, and engineering colleges. That was the reason I was away for so long.

Reporter: Could you talk about the main content of the report?

Li: The report mainly discusses a philosophical question of ontology: the ontological view of art and education. It discusses the renewal of the national spirit and the transformation of the nation's psychology. It forecasts the future development of Chinese culture. It discusses contemporary doctrines that are just beginning. Besides giving these lectures, I carried



out academic interchange at the Psychology Department of Beijing University and the Architectural Engineering Department of Qinghua University.

Reporter: Your field is art, so why did you carry out academic interchange at the Architectural Engineering Department?

Li: My main purpose in going to Qinghua's Architectural Engineering Department was to bring to it for academic interchange several theses, the writing of which I had guided, by research fellows in the Architectural Design Institute of South China Engineering College.

Reporter: Why would you teach research fellows in the Architectural Engineering Department?

Li: The Architectural Design Institute has come to realize that it is necessary to educate its research fellows in contemporary aesthetics and contemporary psychology before the gaps in China's architectural research can be filled. I am now giving them a course called "Model Aesthetics" and a course in art psychology, which later may develop into a course on architectural aesthetics and architectural psychology. This education has become a component part of my study of all the ideas of ontology.

What Is Ontology?

Reporter: What is ontology? Why are you so absorbed in studying it?

Li: When I went north to teach this time, what people were most interested in was ontology.

The central idea of ontology is that the inner world and the outer world are one world. They are different manifestations of the noumenon, the thing-in-itself. Man is regarded as a human noumenon which is a universe and which possesses enormous latent energy. It not only wants to understand the world, but most importantly, in creating, to use this understanding to obtain a superior adjustment of the human noumenon to the entire noumenal world. Ontologists maintain that we do not live outside this world but in it. With language and formulas we cannot completely grasp this world, but we are still conditioned by all the laws of the noumenon. For example, the noumenon is the unity of time and space; the unity of matter, energy, and information; the unity of "being" and "non-being"; the unity of the "many" and the "one"; the unity of "beauty" and "truth"; and the unity of content and form....

We Must Not Oversimplify Say: "Knowledge Is Power"

Li: Ontology's view of education is that it is not to be understood as only the inculcation, storing up, and recall of knowledge. Man is a product of historical development, and it is important to draw out the latent energy accumulated and buried in every person through mankind's long history. Therefore, we must transform knowledge into creative power, and the basic idea of education should be to make its goal the cultivation of human talents who are models of opening up new paths and creating new things. Only by

transforming knowledge into creative power can it become a force that propels society forward. We cannot oversimply say: "Knowledge is power."

Reporter: Haven't you been involved in the education of children for several years?

Li: Correct. For the last 4 years I have devoted all my Sundays to the education of children. I have made it a practice in my study of psychology. Since man's becoming a human noumenon is a process of historical development, from childhood to adulthood he swiftly repeats the history of mankind's development. After understanding child psychology we can adroitly guide education according to circumstances. Many connoisseurs, after seeing our children's paintings, consider them to be truly children's paintings and not paintings of small adults. (As the guiding teacher for the Fine Arts Class in Guangzhou's Children's Art Center and the Children's Class in the Guangzhou College of Fine Arts, Li Zhengtian has a total of more than 300 pupils. On 1 June, International Children's Day, more than 200 outstanding works by his small friends were put on exhibit in the No 5 Exhibit Hall of the Cultural Park. This art exhibition is called "Art Exhibition of Promising Talents," and since its opening there have been many spectators eager to view it and their reaction has been very good).

"At the Beginning of the Cultural Revolution I Was a Fanatic"

Reporter: Please discuss the question of the renewal of the national spirit and the transformation of the national psychology that you raised in your academic report delivered in Beijing.

Li: Now, once the "Great Cultural Revolution" is mentioned, some people are interested only in who was responsible for it. They do not realize that the "Great Cultural Revolution" was a detour that our nation was bound to take at a certain historical stage. When the Cultural Revolution began, I myself was likewise a fanatic, and likewise went through the common psychological process of our nation. For our state and nation to develop vigorously, they had to make a self-examination, and we had to understand our own psychological makeup. Now, some people's bodies are in the eighties of the 20th Century but their heads are still in the past, like Lu Xun's "Nine-Catty Old Lady." Another type of person has his body in China but his head is inclined toward foreign countries, always feeling that "the moon in foreign countries is rounder than it is in China." They are unable to ponder problems that involve multiple ideas. The whole nation must replace knowledge, replace concepts, and eliminate the nation's deep-rooted bad habits before it can construct modernization well.

The Second Encirclement of the Cities by the Countryside

Reporter: Please discuss your views of the reform of the economic system.

Li: The policies since the Third Plenary Session [of the Eleventh CPC Central Committee] have full faith in the peasants and lets them do what they know is best. With the enthusiasm of the broad masses of peasants aroused, the enthusiasm of the whole nation has been aroused. Just as Marx said: "Every

person's freedom to develop is a necessary condition for the freedom to develop of all persons." China is a country in which farmers make up the overwhelming majority of the population. The policy of first letting the peasants be free to prosper is of great significance. It is the second encirclement of the cities by the countryside. Today's specialized households are not the peasant households in 1950 that still farmed on their own after agricultural cooperation. This is not a case of a return to the past but a case of a spiraling rise. The potential for economic development in the whole of the rural areas is difficult to estimate. I think there is a possibility that the economic and cultural center of the world will shift to the Asia and Pacific region, including China. With our own hard work we must create a new period of civilization for mankind.

#### Recent Developments for "Li Yi Zhe"

Reporter: May I ask what your present position is? What about the other members of "Li Yi Zhe?"

Li: I always feel good about myself, that is to say, I always think about problems freely, declare my views on all occasions, and put forward my opinions. Of course, there are still people who think I am a dangerous figure. I think this is only the ultraleft ideological trend's sudden spurt of activity prior to its collapse. People firmly believe that the redressing of our cases was in conformity with the trend of the entire society, and so they still support my work and explorations. (Reporter's note: For several years Li has been giving a speech entitled "Psychology of Art" in Guangzhou, Beijing, Shanghai, Wuhan, Nanjing, and Hangzhou. Usually he lectures to packed audiences.) With the exception of Wang Xizhe [3769 1585 0772], the members of the original "Li Yi Zhe" are in about the same position as I am. They are all working hard at their respective posts, and have been successful in their careers. Because Wang Xizhe made the slogan "Dictatorship of the Proletariat" a sequel to the Li Yi Zhe's "Democracy and the Legal System," and we did not agree with him, from that time on he has not been one of us. We are always interested in his situation, but know very little about it.

Reporter: Some people say that people like you could play more of a role if they worked outside China rather than in it. Do you agree?

Li: I certainly don't discriminate against people who go abroad because they can probably do better work there. But I am willing to stay in my country. In the final analysis, my roots are in the soil here. When necessary I may go abroad to observe and study. What is more important is that, since the world's economic and cultural center of gravity has not yet come to China, won't we feel more happy to greet it with our own hard work when it does come to China?

Reporter: Good! Thank you for taking time to grant us this interview.

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HONG KONG MEDIA ON CHINA

HU YAOBANG'S VIEWS ON LITERARY, ARTISTIC POLICIES

Hong Kong CHING PAO [THE MIRROR] in Chinese No 8, Aug 85 pp 20-24

[Article by Wei Tian [4850 3944]: "Hu Yaobang Claims That Literary and Artistic Policies Have Not Changed"]

[Text] "As soon as a comrade on the CPC Central Committee opens his mouth these days, he stirs up a storm. He says something and certain comrades will immediately conclude, "Hurray! Liberation! Liberation! That will make things easy for us." He says something else and the comrades will lament, "Damn! They are pulling back. Things look bad." So we really hesitate to say anything."

Early this year, the literary and artistic circle was a scene of rare excitement and activity because Hu Qili had just formally sounded the slogan of "freedom of creation" for the first time in a speech he made to the fourth congress of the Chinese Writers' Association on behalf of the secretariat of the CPC Central Committee. Inspired by this development, many writers even went so far as to denounce the ultraleftists both at the congress and outside. The mood in the world of literature and art was almost overwhelmingly against the ultraleftists.

Before long, however, ultraleftist elements were again readying themselves to make trouble. The masses of writers pined and sighed, but the illusive Central Committee document which was supposed to announce the principle of "freedom of creation" was never transmitted. Instead, there were murmurs to the effect that the artistic and literary policy would be tightened again. Such was indeed the worry of many an anxious writer.

At the invitation of some literary and artistic friends who have travelled to the south, I recently visited them in Shenzhen. Our conversation touched upon the above debate and the writers' concern. I was told that when the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference were in session last March, some literary and artistic people proposed that Deng Xiaoping and Hu Yaobang be asked to make known their positions. Hu Yaobang accepted the request for himself but said that Deng Xiaoping, already advanced in age (he was 80 last August,) be spared the bother unless a really critical matter was at stake. So on the eve of his five-nation South Asian tour, Hu Yaobang held a meeting with a number of leading cadres from literary



and artistic agencies and the literary and artistic community, discussing at considerable length the Central Committee's artistic and literary policies, the social function of art and literature, reforms in the artistic and literary contingent and agencies, and internal unity within the artistic and literary community.

As Hu Yaobang's talk involves policies and principles, it should help us understand the basic situation and conditions in China's literary and artistic world.

#### China's Literary and Artistic Policies Have Not Changed

In his talk, my friends recall, Hu Yaobang discussed whether or not China's policies have changed.

Hu Yaobang said, "Many people said our policies have changed. In what aspects have they changed? In what aspects have they remained the same? If they have changed, what is the nature of the changes? Time marches on, things develop, so it is only right for policies and methods to change as well and we cannot oppose change categorically. Take rural policy, for instance. Compared to what it was before the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee, it has changed considerably, progressively and in a way that meets both objective conditions and the masses' interests and needs. Thus this kind of change is good. What is bad is frequent flip-flops."

Looking back, Hu Yaobang said, "We have not back-pedaled on major decisions, policies and principles in recent years. As for specific issues and detailed measures, we have shifted back and forth in about 7, 8 to a dozen cases in the past 5 or 6 years. These are the shortcomings in our work."

Hu Yaobang said, "No change has been made regarding the three major decisions in literature and art since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee:

1. Fully affirm the achievements and main trends of the literary and artistic community. Most people in art and literature are good. In this regard our policy has not changed at all.

Hu Yaobang admitted that the Central Committee has criticized the weaknesses and inadequacies of the literary and artistic community, but generally in a subtle, restrained and mild manner. Mindful of the complex mental labor involved in literature and art, the Central Committee appreciates its intricate, difficult and arduous nature, realizes the negative effects of certain historical circumstances on literary and artistic work and is also anxious that the majority of people should understand and accept our criticisms and opinions. Certainly, if we tone down our criticisms excessively, we will risk blurring a controversial point, and if the controversial element is lost, we will not be able to readily arouse people's vigilance. Some people may even imagine the practice in question is acceptable, which will mean that we have failed in our task to help them through criticism.



2. Always take pains to improve party leadership over literary and artistic work. Do not interfere unduly in literature and art. This idea, too, stands.

I asked skeptically, "The position on 'freedom of creation' has not changed?" My friends said that Hu Yaobang explained this matter in his talk. He said that in his opinion, the idea of "freedom of creation" has not changed and pointed out that the constitution already provides for it. Moreover, in his congratulatory message to the writers' congress in 1979, Deng Xiaoping stressed the "absolute necessity to ensure an expansive literary and artistic terrain where personal creativity and personal interests can roam free, where thought, fantasy, form and substance are guaranteed." He also pointed out that complex mental labor like literature and art are highly dependent on writers and artists giving play to their creative spirit; only they can decide through artistic practice what to write and how to write. The leadership should not meddle in their work wilfully. Deng Xiaoping also proposed that we promote "free developments in form and style" in the realm of writing and "free discourse involving different schools of thought" in the realm of artistic theories.

Hu Yaobang said that the party has consistently advocated freedom of creation since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee and that there has been no change in course. He denied there was anything new about Hu Qili's reference to "freedom of creation" in the latter's congratulatory speech at the fourth congress of the Writers' Association. Hu Qili has done no more than elaborating an established point. Hu Yaobang expressed surprise at the social storm stirred up by his speech and at the way it was hailed as another liberation for writers.

3. Do not respond to the deviations and errors, even gross errors, in the artistic and literary community by name-calling and arbitrary attacks. This policy has not changed.

Hu Yaobang said, "I made this point explicitly at the play-writing seminar back in 1980 and was warmly applauded by the participants. Some people even cried. Facts prove that we have been as good as our word. Which writer has been condemned in recent years as a rightist, as an anti-socialist, or as anti-party? None of course."

#### Literary and Artistic Progress Depends On Criticism

Referring to literary and artistic criticism, Hu Yaobang said, "Literature and art cannot develop without criticism. When internal lapses and errors of one kind or another occur, we should not deal with them by name-calling and attacks but by normal, healthy criticism and self-criticism. This is absolutely necessary. For the sake of assuring the soundness of the literary and artistic contingent, we must not discard criticisms, including literary criticism and self-criticism."

Hu Yaobang reviewed the more significant occasions in recent years when a literary work was criticized. He said, "The first work to come under criticism was the play, 'If I Were Real.' (Editor's note: the playwright is Sha Yexin [3097 1673 2450]). I believe criticism in this case was fully

justified and tenable. The criticism of Ba Hua (primarily against his work, 'Unrequited Love') was also necessary. WENYI BAO was justified in publishing the article criticizing him. The units concerned handled the Ba Hua case well."

I commented that according to a number of overseas reports, Sha Yexin and Ba Hua came under considerable pressure at the time, that the criticisms of people like Yu Luojin [6657 5012 ]6930] and Da Houying [2071 0624 5391] resembled denunciations and that many critical articles did not lack diatribes and other name-calling language.

My friends replied that different people had different opinions about these matters. In his speech, Hu Yaobang acknowledged that there had been lapses in the formats and methods of criticism and that in certain respects some writers' weaknesses and errors had not been given full consideration or criticized in an adequately reasoned way. He noted, however, that once the Central Committee discovered these lapses, it immediately corrected them.

Hu Yaobang cited the three decisions above to prove that the Central Committee's major artistic and literary policies have not changed and hoped to use them as a rallying point with which to unite the artistic and literary community. He also hoped that his audience would let bygones be bygones and stop making groundless speculation in the future.

#### Dissatisfaction With the Prevalence of the Romantic Theme

In his talk, Hu Yaobang discussed the function of art and literature in the revolutionary cause. He urged his audience, "Do not underestimate the role played by spiritual forces in our cause. What Deng Xiaoping has said about ideals, morals, education and discipline sums up our demand for raising the spiritual quality of the entire people. Our party proposes to construct two great civilizations in the new era, socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization. The 5th Plenary Session of the 12th Central Committee next year may consider and pass a resolution specially devoted to the strengthening of the construction of the socialist spiritual civilization. The resolution will be a reasoned and analytical guiding document which will contain principles, policies and methods. After 5 to 6 years of thorough implementation, it is certain that our effort to build socialist spiritual civilization will bear abundant fruits and that our conditions will be changed even more dramatically. In short, the construction of socialist spiritual civilization demands that comrades in the artistic and literary community, party members and nonparty members alike, bear in mind that they have the glorious and sacred duty of building spiritual civilization and bear a heavy responsibility. In terms of concrete work, our demand is twofold:

First, as they go about writing and creating, they must always have the people's interests at heart. And right now, the overriding interest of the people is achieving socialist modernization so that the nation and the people may prosper. Literary and artistic work must be closely integrated with, and serve, this overriding interest. We should not limit the writers' freedom of creation, of course, but we hope that every writer takes to heart this all-important interest and make it his all-important theme. It is just not right

to ignore completely this theme or to show no feelings for it. Many fine literary and artistic works have appeared recently, but there are others which are inferior in quality and style. The Chinese people's magnificent and heroic struggle to achieve the four modernizations has not yet been mirrored in literary and artistic creation adequately."

To illustrate his point, Hu Yaobang cited the group letter written by Chinese students in the United States to the Central Committee. "It criticized many films sent by China for screening in the United States as of a low intellectual standard. The students said they were more than ready to stay up to watch the military parade on National Day and such good movies as 'Descending Zhongshan,' 'The Xian Incident' and 'The Legend of the Young Commander.' Unfortunately, movies like these are few and far between, an opinion shared by many overseas Chinese. It has been observed that some contemporary literary and artistic works confine themselves to romance, comedy and other themes that deal with the strange and the occult. I agree that there is room for a little romance, but where will we be if romance is all that literature and art concerns itself with? Not only do we need works with a historical theme, but we must also make them an important part of all literary and artistic production. At the same time, we must do our best to improve their ideological tone and artistic sophistication, while ensuring their relevance to real life. In short, there should be a diverse range of subject matter, and writers are free to choose their themes, but we must not forget the overriding aim of serving socialist construction, the greatest theme of all. Outrageous stuff must be criticized in a reasoned way."

Some people at the meeting proposed that patriotism be encouraged through propaganda and mentioned the example of the son of Zhou Xinfang [0719 0207 5364], the famous Beijing opera actor. Despite the fact that the entire Zhou family suffered tragically in the Cultural Revolution, Zhou Shaolin [0719 1421 7792] insisted on returning to Shanghai from the United States to attend the activities marking the actor's 90th birthday. Hu Yaobang said, "I proposed earlier that the Communist Youth League collect stories such as this and have them published in a periodical." He criticized the present state of the periodical, which, instead of running the kind of stories he had in mind, has degenerated into a publication devoted to nothing else other than romance and all manners of bizarre stuff.

#### More TV Coverage on Athletic Competitions

Second, we must protect our people, especially young people, from corrosion by the decadent ideas of capitalism and feudalism.

Hu Yaobang pointed out, "The pernicious influences of the old society still linger in our midst. As we open up the country to the world and introduce advanced foreign technology and management experience, some decadent capitalist ideas will inevitably find their way into the country, so we must be ever vigilant and prevent and resist such corrosion. Some people think this is no cause for alarm. They are mistaken. If we do not watch out, we will suffer serious consequences. At the same time, though, we must exercise caution in identifying the decadent ideas of capitalism and overcome them in a

proper way. We must neither resort to crude and random attacks nor exacerbate the situation."

Hu Yaobang referred to a couple of unfortunate events in the literary and artistic community lately. "First, instead of entering good films in international film festivals, we presented some relatively shoddy ones. Second, some of the works in the festival featuring old foreign movies not only deal with romance but are simply filthy. The agencies concerned turned a blind eye to this event, which was a dereliction of duty. Within a very short time, thousands of tabloids with dubious contents have sprung up. In addition, there are obscene videotapes which pander to people's vulgar interests. Pornography in all its forms must be prohibited."

Hu Yaobang asked, "Shouldn't party committees at all levels take care of these problems? What about the literary and artistic community? Or the information agencies? Out of fear that they may make mistakes if they get involved, some of the people concerned prefer to pass the buck to the higher authorities. Is this mentality acceptable? Is it true that after being in the party several decades, we still lack even this amount of independent judgment? Some comrades may even labor under the assumption that only writings that pander to vulgar instincts become popular, a myth which should be exploded. There is a whole range of interests and different pursuits have different appeal. Some people are interested in gambling and smoking opium. Does it follow that we should cater to such low tastes too? We must not accommodate and pander to vulgar tastes or mistake backward ideas as correct ones."

Hu Yaobang emphasized that all Communist Party members and revolutionary literary and artistic workers must not forget their duty to lead the masses. "Only with resolute and positive leadership can we increase the number of wholesome things and reduce the number of negative ones. I propose that television stations give more coverage to sports competitions. Pornographic materials absolutely must not be aired. What some comrades have called 'masses' viewpoints' tend to be very narrow and are highly questionable; they are the viewpoints of backward people. Since both ethics and interests are amenable to cultivation, we should nurture interests compatible with socialism, increase the people's resistance to corrosive and decadent capitalist ideas and take various appropriate measures, both administrative and legal, to crack down on newspapers, periodicals and videotapes which injure the public's mental and physical well-being. Of course, close attention is required to distinguish good things from bad in actual day-to-day work. I propose that comrades in the secretariat and the Propaganda Department draw up a list of clear-cut policies. Our work must be meticulous and we must not rush headlong into mass action."

Hu Yaobang said, "Literature and art exert an imperceptible influence on us, either positively or negatively. It is up to us to exercise our subjective initiative to propound progressive, correct and healthy ideological viewpoints and sentiments so as to subtly influence the people in a positive way."



## "Eating Out of the Same Big Rice Pot" a Serious Problem

My friends said that the literary and artistic community has been engaged in a heated debate in response to the wave of reform that is raging in all other trades and professions. Some are worried that reform in their own community might go wrong. Others argue that reform is unnecessary because of the uniqueness of the literary and artistic front. This ideological confusion was the focus of some of Hu Yaobang's remarks at the meeting.

Hu Yaobang said, "Each and every sector should undergo reform in accordance with its own circumstances. Comrade Deng Xiaoping has said, 'Reform is another of China's revolutions. There must be no deviation from this course. We must reform in the present century and the next. All sectors must go in for reform. Not only must we reform the economy, science and technology and education, but we have also been reshaping foreign affairs in recent years. Political and legal work, too, must be overhauled. We must reform to survive and prosper in the modern world; this is an objective law beyond human manipulation."

Hu Yaobang affirmed the overall reliability of China's literary and artistic contingent, but said that the present situation could not be allowed to continue. "There are many places out there where the people would love to see performances by artistic workers. Even though the artistic groups themselves are willing to go and perform, it is not possible because there is a serious 'eating out of the same big pot' problem. In general, artistic and literary workers are poorly paid. On the other hand, it is not tenable for them to rely solely on state handouts. This situation must therefore be changed; we simply have no other choice. Literary and artistic work and agencies in this field may be special, but literary and artistic workers are also laborers and literary and artistic agencies are also engaged in production, the production of spiritual fare. As such they must serve the people and nation and be concerned with results. Accordingly they should set up a responsibility system, distribute earnings in accordance with work, reward the diligent and penalize the indolent. In this sense the literary and artistic front is not all that special and must reform itself. As for how reform is going to be carried out, here are some established rules:

First, some literary and artistic organizations are currently overstaffed. We must transfer to other positions people who are unsuited for literary and artistic work. This move requires coordination among organization departments, propaganda departments and literary and artistic agencies. I would like to ask the party committee secretaries of the units concerned to assume personal responsibility for this matter and make an effort to solve it.

Second, firmly enforce the principles of distribution according to work, and the harder you work, the more you'll earn. Whoever works harder and performs better should be rewarded, while those who are lazy and do not measure up should be penalized. In short, we must not continue the old ways of putting everybody on the same grade, eating out of the same big pot and treating everybody alike in disregard of his performance.



Third, in order to improve gradually the quality of creation and performance, I suggest a bonus system including a bonus fund be set up under which the state is to offer a bonus for creation and performance, I suggest a bonus system including a bonus fund be set up under which the state is to offer a bonus as an incentive to the literary or artistic group which has staged a good play."

Abnormal Organizational Life

Hu Yaobang also referred to the question of unity. He said, "The literary and artistic community must develop a healthy organizational life in the party. If a member has a complaint against another member or against the secretariat or general secretary, he must not resort to retaliation. Instead he can complain at a party meeting in accordance with the procedures laid down by the party constitution. The complaint will be promptly transmitted to the Central Committee if such a step is justified. Only thus can a normal organizational life develop. All covert nonorganizational discussion is strictly prohibited and liberalism is firmly opposed. The problem these days is that because organizational life in the party in some localities has gone awry for years, many problems which could have been resolved locally where they occur are casually shuffled onto the higher authorities. Some people even take their complaints all the way to the Central Committee. Of course, such a recourse is permitted by the constitution under certain circumstances, but if all matters, trivial as well as important, are referred to the party committee at the higher level, the results will only be endless trouble and an abnormally tense atmosphere. To solve this problem by developing a normal organizational life in the party, we may consider issuing a special circular designating the literary and artistic agency where a pilot project is to be carried out. We must emphasize solving the grievances of members and comrades against one another through healthy criticism and self-criticism based on facts in the context of a normal organizational life. An unhealthy party life produces many side effects, including hearsay, nonorganizational discussion, unaccountability and factionalism. The Central Commission for Guiding Party Consolidation and the Central Discipline Inspection Commission must come up with a resolution on this matter later this year or next year. So long as the party's organizational life remains abnormal, the party will be prone to crisis. We must come to grips with this issue seriously and consider it an important part of improving party style, strengthening unity and making the party stable and united."

#### Lack of Expert Knowledge in Literature and Art Acknowledged

After listening to Hu Yaobang's speech on literary work as related to me by my friends, I still had doubts on my mind. My friends too felt that Hu Yaobang had only made a few general points regarding selected issues in literary and artistic work. It is clearly difficult for him to resolve overnight the wide range of practical uncertainties and dissensions in the community.

What is admirable is Hu Yaobang's humility. Although he is general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, he does not ask that his words be treated like an imperial decree or an infallible law. He is not one to ride roughshod over popular opposition and demand total submission. On the contrary, he is extremely modest and courteous.

Hu Yaobang said, "Strictly speaking, I should be more expansive. After all, the secretariat of the Central Committee is at the forefront. But it is really difficult for me to say more than I have already said for several reasons. First, I am not very familiar with the situation and there are many literary and artistic works and performances which I have not read or seen. I simply do not have the energy to attend to this area. Second, I have to admit I am no expert in literature and art. There are not too many things I can say which are of literary merit. Third, I really hesitate when I make a public statement. As soon as a comrade on the Central Committee opens his mouth these days, he stirs up a storm. He says something and certain comrades will immediately jump to conclusion, "Hurray! Liberation! Liberation! That will make things easy for us." He says something else and the comrades will lament, "Damn! They are pulling back. Things look bad." So we really hesitate to say anything. Today, however, in response to the comrades' request and taking advantage of the meeting of the National People's Congress, I thought it would be a good idea for us to get together in a relatively relaxed setting. We may not be able to discuss each and every point, but it is worth it just to exchange some ideas."

Hu Yaobang specially pointed out that problems between writers should be worked out face to face by the writers themselves. "Sincere and open exchanges should be encouraged and criticisms should be made with the aim of helping, not attacking, another person. At the same time, we must look out for our own shortcomings. We should recognize that because they lacked practice in literature and art in the past or were poorly educated, many old party comrades are far from perfect as leaders of artistic and literary work. Some writers look down upon us, including people in the secretariat as well as leaders in the provinces. We should not be offended by their slight. What is the point? If we get mad, we will only resort to retaliation. Instead, we must see that we really are not as well educated as we should be and make an effort to learn and set high standards for ourselves."

I believe that if all leading cadres for literary and artistic work are as magnanimous as Hu Yaobang, we will soon see the dawn on the literary and artistic front.

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